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The objective of this thesis was to analyze the extant 1775 Store in Salem, North Carolina by instigating a case study of the building, goods and products contained therein, and the people associated with the Store. Merchant Traugott Bagge was responsible for managing this church-owned commercial venture of a theocratic community of the Moravian church, located in the North Carolina backcountry. Research sought to ascertain the significance of this business to the community and the surrounding area.

Disciplines of Cultural Landscape, Material Culture, and Cultural History informed this process. Data collection from community diaries, architectural drawings, maps, artists’ images, photographs, trade letters, and inventories, provided enormous amounts of data which was organized in chronological order in a searchable database. Jules Prown’s Object Analysis and Stewart Brand’s Layers of Change provided the methodology. Seven layers borrowed from Brand created the framework for analysis: Site, Structure, Skin, Services, Space Plan, Stuff and Souls.

The overarching theme of this study identifies the intersection of material culture and people and the myriad of ways that the Salem Store impacted the backcountry community, through its network of connections: the connections between people in the Salem community and outside; the connections between people in Salem—the Bagge family, store staff, Salem residents, and “outsider” customers; and the connections between people and the material culture of architecture and objects. By coaxing out the

stories in the Store, it was possible to regain some of the lost meaning and purpose of this structure, and thus re-soul the building.

**“GOOD WARES AND MODEST MANNERS:”
THE SALEM STORE ENTRUSTED TO
MERCHANT TRAUGOTT BAGGE,
1775-1800**

by

Lola Langdon Culler

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2009**

Approved by

Committee Chair

To Mike. Period!

APPROVAL PAGE

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GLOSSARY

- AELTESTEN CONFERENZ: Board of Elders, that is the Board charged with the oversight of the spiritual affairs of the Congregation.
- AKOLUTHE: a layman or woman formally set apart for Church service, but not ranking with the regularly ordained Ministry.
- ARBEITER: literally: “the workers”, that is the Ministers and their wives.
- AUFSEHER COLLEGIUM: Supervising Board, that is the Board that cared for the material, the financial, interest of the congregation.
- CHOIR: a division of the Congregation, which consisted of the Choirs of Married People, Single Brethren, Single Sisters, Widowers, Widows, Older Boys, Older Girls, and Children.
- CHOIR FESTIVAL: a special day of prayer and re-consecration set apart annually for each of the Choirs of the Congregation.
- COVENANT DAY: same as Choir Festival
- DAILY WORD: Old Testament Text for each day of the year.
- DEACONESS: the wife of a minister (Deacon, Presbyter or Bishop) sometimes was ordained a Deaconess, and assisted in the spiritual work among the women of the congregation.
- DIACONIE: the business organization of a Congregation or Choir.
- DIASPORA: a Greek word meaning “the dispersed,”—compare John VII, 35. Used to signify members living outside of Moravian towns.
- DOCTRINAL TEXT: the New Testament Text for each day.
- FREMDEN: a general term for visitors not connected with the Brethren’s Church.
- FREMDEN DIENER: a man appointed to look after visitors, make them comfortable, and see that they behaved with due propriety while in the Moravian town.
- FREMDEN STUNDE: a religious service held in English, or in some other way especially planned for visitors.
- GEMEINE: used either for the Unity of Brethren as a whole, or for a Congregation of the Brethren.
- GEMEIN HAUS: a house belonging to the Congregation, containing a meeting hall, living rooms for the minister, etc.
- GEMEIN NACHRICHTEN: Unity News, the manuscript Moravian Church Newspaper of the period.
- GEMEIN SAAL: the meeting hall in the Gemein Haus, used for Church services.
- GEMEIN TAG: Unity Day, the day on which a Congregation met in several sessions for the public reading of the Gemein Nachrichten.
- HELPER: same as Pfleger, the latter term being more generally used, except for the leading minister of a Congregation.
- HLEFER CONFERENZ: Ministers’ Conference.
- JUNGER: “the Disciple,” a term frequently applied to Count Zinzendorf, doubtless suggested by his fervent love of the Saviour.

LOVEFEAST: LIEBESMAHL—a religious service, founded on the “Agape,” the “meal in common” of the early Christians. It is largely a song service, during which members share a simple meal, usually bread and tea or coffee.

OECONOMIE: the common housekeeping and community of interest that made possible the remarkable achievements of the pioneer days in Wachovia.

OECONOMUS: the chief officer of the Wachovia Settlement, especially on its material side.

ORDINARIUS: generally used as the equivalent of Presbyter or Priest, the second rank in the ordained Ministry. Sometimes applied specifically to Count Zinzendorf.

PFLEGER, (feminine PFLEGERIN): literally “one who takes care of” another, therefore the Pastor of a Congregation, or the leader of a Choir.

SAAL: a hall in which religious services were held, either in a Choir House, Gemein Haus, or Church.

SAAL DIENER: Church Sextons or Users; both men and women served, as the sexes sat on opposite sides of the Saal.

SENIOR CIVILIS: a Moravian minister, ranking as a Bishop, but especially charged with the oversight of material interest of the Unity.

SINGSTUNDE: Church service largely of singing, in contradiction to the preaching services, or those in which the Nachrichten were read.

SOCIETY: an association affiliated with the Brethren, and served by a Moravian Minister, but not fully organized as a Moravian Congregation.

STUDENBETER: the organization of men and women which maintained the Hourly Intercession.

TEXTS: see Daily Word, and Doctrinal Text, which together made up the Texts for the day.

VORSTEHER, (feminine VORSTEHERIN): the business manager and treasurer of a Congregation or Choir.

(From *Records of the Moravians*, V. 1, 495-6)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On the first of May 1780 is made the following agreement... Traugott Bagge, as first person and merchant, undertakes to run the store entrusted to him.... He binds himself to be modest in manners to his customers and to serve them with good wares for a fair price ... (Moravian Archives #S740:1) ”

Good wares and modest manners—this describes the type of business Traugott Bagge was to manage as merchant for the community store in Salem, and the type of behavior requested of him. The above quote, part of an agreement between Brother Bagge and the church ruling board, specifies the business guidelines detailed in this unique arrangement between the church-owned store and Bagge. The Salem Store (Fig. I-1) is the focus of this thesis during its first 25 years, from 1775-1800, providing insight into the Salem community. During this quarter century, that was the formative period of our nation, this store in a closed community acted as a link to the outside world.

Until there is a time machine to enable us to travel back two hundred years to experience life fully, the



Figure I-1. Extant Salem Store. 2009. Photo L. Culler

everyday and the extraordinary, we must attempt to reconstruct thousands of little bits and pieces of information to piece together a whole. Like working a jigsaw puzzle with missing and torn pieces, our attempts will never be near complete, but hopefully by slowly matching pieces together we may begin to glimpse into the world as it may have been experienced. However, even with archeology, research, interpretation, and re-enactment, we can never fully experience a day in the life of Traugott and Rachel Bagge. Following are a few questions that this researcher attempted to answer through this study:

- How many people were actually living in the dwelling?
- What was the daily routine of cooking, serving, cleaning; and who was providing the work?
- How many people were working in the Store?
- What merchandise was being sold?
- Who was buying, what were their purchases, and how did they pay?
- What did the shopping experience look like?
- What about the daily routine in the Store?
- Where and how was merchandise unloaded from wagons and brought into the sales room for customers?
- How were the store workers preparing and packing country produce for shipment as exports?

SALEM

Salem, North Carolina was a commercial oasis in the colonial backcountry wilderness. Founded in 1766 by the Moravian Church (Unity of Brethren), the town is an interesting study of an eighteenth century utopian community and its successes and struggles. Salem was a theocracy. This provided a unique viewpoint for the examination of a commercial enterprise, as the Store was a church-owned business.

STORE

The Store site was from the beginning planning stages in 1765, to be located opposite the southwest corner of the Town Square, however, construction did not begin until 1774, two years after the town was officially settled. For these first few years in Salem, between 1772-1775, the store business was operated from the Two-Story House, two blocks north. The merchant, Traugott Bagge was initially brought from England to manage the store in Bethabara, North Carolina. Then he moved to Salem in 1772, to manage the store in the Two-Story House. By 1774, a larger store was needed, so work began toward fulfilling those original plans. Once construction was complete, on May 8, 1775, “he and his family slept there for the first time *(v. 2, p. 872),” in the building which became Traugott Bagge’s home and workplace for the next 25 years. *[All citations with no author/title refer to a volume of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, edited by Adelaide L. Fries.]

After Bagge’s death in 1800, the business changed hands several times. In the 1840s, the building was raised to two stories and continued to operate as a store into the

1890s. Plans dated 1910 record the alterations to the building for use as the parsonage for Home Moravian Church, after which it became a doctor's office, before being restored in 1955 to its conjectured 1775 appearance. The extant store building today continues its original function as retail for the living history museum Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This thesis sought to analyze the architecture of the store building and its relationship to other buildings in town; to shed light on the wares sold and used for trade, and the connection that the merchandise provided with the outside world; to understand the commercial operations of the Salem Store and its political and social ramifications; and to understand the merchant T. Bagge, and his contributions to the Salem community.

Time Limitations

For this research the time period is limited to 1775- 1800. Although T. Bagge served prior to 1775 as merchant, it was at other locations, both in Salem and Bethabara. The temporal limitations are determined by the opening of the Salem Store in 1775, and ending in 1800 at the death of Traugott Bagge. This quarter of a century was an exciting and tumultuous time as business in Salem constantly adjusted to the whirlpool of activities in the birth of a new nation.

Significance

Today the building has lost much of its meaning to the community. Even Old Salem staff working in the Store today knows little of the history of the structure and its occupants. Thorough research of this building and its operation had not been done previously. The building which stands today operating as the museum store called *T. Bagge* underwent several structural changes over its 234 year history. Its 1950s restoration returned the exterior to its conjectured 1775 appearance, but adapted the interior for modern retail use. A place is shaped by its social, cultural, and physical context, which in turn shapes the place. As Wood (1997) explains, “Community is dependent upon common purpose, shared understanding and values, a sense of obligation and reciprocity, and collective action (p.53).” It is armed with this concept that this thesis examined the Salem Store, and the merchant Traugott Bagge, and focused on the importance of this business to the Salem community, with investigation into the architecture, the products and wares, and how these objects contribute to the understanding of the culture and community. By examining primary sources and analyzing resulting data, this research gained a more complete understanding of this building which has lost its meaning to the community, because its “story” is no longer told.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars of various disciplines have provided thematic organization to provide relevance for this study. Research for this topic will be focused through the lens of three themes—Cultural Landscape, Material Culture, and Cultural History. There is not a clear line of distinction between these three areas, and the carving-out of these concepts is to some point arbitrary, but these perspectives provided illumination into the research of merchant Traugott Bagge, the Salem community store, and the wares sold.

To study a structure it is essential to also study the location and the relationship of the building to its site, as well as the spatial relationship and orientation to other buildings and landscape features. Because the connection of a structure to, and within, its context reveals decisions which reflect culture, it is this understanding that guides the discipline of Cultural Landscape. Through this lens, the researcher analyzed the Store building and its relation with the community of Salem, and its contextual relation to other markets.

The concept of Material Culture employs an object to aid in understanding a culture. By reading the form and function of an object, it is possible to garner a better understanding of a culture by analyzing those value decisions and meanings bound up in an object. For the purpose of this research, the concept of Material Culture will be focused as a lens through which to examine the wares sold in the Store, as well as the

architecture of the building, and how the store building related to, and served as a container for those wares.

Cultural History, as a discipline, will be used to examine how the Store business affected, and was affected by, the culture of the Salem community with its Moravian influence. For this thesis, Cultural History will be interpreted through four viewpoints: political, economic, social, and religious. First, because this business will be studied during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which is the period of formation of a new nation, the study of a retail store takes on a political aura. Secondly, the very nature of the business requires delving into the economic impact of the Store on the community during what has been tagged the Consumer Revolution. Thirdly, a comprehension of the interaction between merchant and customer, between merchant and wholesaler, and between merchant and church will shape the understanding of the social aspects of the business. And, finally, in studying any aspect of Moravian history, religion will be part of the discussion. Even the topic of the built environment, can be illuminated by considering the theology of architecture. It is the intersection of the political, economic, social, and religious qualities that will shape the assessment of Cultural History.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Cultural landscape provides a context for understanding a community. The term “landscape” to us today conjures up ideas of trees and flowers planted in a pre-determined way to create a specifically desired effect. Perhaps the need for historic landscape preservation has come about because we have become so removed emotionally

and culturally from the land. During earlier times when the topography, construction and the natural resources were so inextricably intertwined, the land and its usage were so integrated into human existence that landscape was not seen as a separate entity. The discipline of historic preservation of buildings has come to the forefront in this country during a time when we are removed from the working and cultivating of natural resources, and landscape simply has come to mean aesthetic planting. It is perhaps with this desire to get back to the land and back to the roots of historic culture that preservation of landscape has also become of critical importance.

Defined by Oxford American Dictionary, landscape is “natural or imaginary scenery, as seen in a broad view” (Oxford Dictionary, p. 442). However, the concept of cultural landscape embodies much more than this limited modern view. The National Park Service defines cultural landscape as:

...a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein), associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values. There are four general types of cultural landscapes, not mutually exclusive: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes (Birnbaum and Peters, 1996, p. 4).

In an examination of the cultural landscape of Old Salem--a living-history museum in Winston-Salem, North Carolina-- it is possible to identify elements of all four types within the historic district of Old Salem. Originally settled in the last half of the eighteenth century by the Moravian Church, Old Salem today makes claim to be the first National Historic Landmark District in North Carolina, encompassing over 85 acres and over 100 buildings of historical significance (Niven and Wright, 2000, p. 91). Therefore

the integrity and authenticity of this district fits within the NPS definitions of a historic site. With the restored terraced gardens of the Single Brothers' House, as well as maintenance of other Salem gardens for interpretive purposes, Old Salem also qualifies as a historic designed landscape, as horticulturalists and interpreters re-create the visual impact of land cultivation that sustained the early residents of Salem. As the location of four separate entities: an active church congregation, a prestigious academy and a college, home for many residents, and a living-history museum, Old Salem embodies the definition of a historic vernacular landscape. The NPS provides that definition as:

A landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped it. Through social or cultural attitudes of an individual, a family, or a community, the landscape reflects the physical, biological, and cultural character of everyday lives. Function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes (Birnbaum, 1996, p. 5).

It is evident to the visitor who strolls along brick and stone sidewalks among half-timbered, stone, brick and log buildings that the historic coincides with the modern, as the noise of traffic and daily life continues on city streets. The community is still functioning, utilizing the structures for which many of these historic buildings were designed; this evolution of use of the vernacular landscape continues even today. The German culture brought to North Carolina by the Moravians identifies Salem as a "heritage resource" for its German architecture and town planning as well as the layout of sacred sites such as God's Acre—the graveyard laid out with flat markers representing the Moravian belief in the equality of death. These examples recognize Salem as a contributor to the definition of ethnographic landscape as well.

Salem, which was originally to be named *Unitas*, was a Moravian community that was planned before the first tree was felled. Although this degree of planning was not common for a backcountry town of the eighteenth century, it was an integral part of a Moravian community (Niven and Wright, 2000, p.20). Perhaps the importance of town planning was the Moravians' attempt to control their environment. Robert Blair St. George, in a study of seventeenth-century New England, states that "the location of man-made structures helped bring coherence to an otherwise apparently chaotic world" (St. George, 1988, p. 337). With this understanding, a study of Salem by examining its cultural landscape provided an interesting perspective to the study of this community. To further elaborate on the NPS concept of cultural landscape, from *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, is Carl Sauer's definition: "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result" (Alanen and Melnick, 2000, p. 15). In this case, the Moravian Church provided the culture, the rolling hills and ridges of the Piedmont provided the medium, and the result is the cultural landscape of Salem as we see it today. It is enlightening to examine Salem from this viewpoint.

Cultural landscape relates a building to its site or context. Buildings are artifacts which provide a valuable study of cultural landscape and material culture because buildings are usually tied to their context providing a meaningful understanding of the impact of culture on an object, which is often lost in other artifacts. "Cultural landscapes often derive their character from a human response to natural features and systems" (Birnbaum, 1996, p. 9). As such, the National Park Service provides guidelines for the assessment, treatment, and interpretation of cultural landscapes, which

...are composed of features which are *organized in space*. [Their emphasis]... Individual features in the landscape should never be viewed in isolation, but in relationship to the landscape as a whole... Overall, it is the arrangement and the interrelationship of these character-defining features as they existed during the period of significance that is most critical to consider prior to treatment (Birnbaum, 1996, p. 15).

The balance between culture and nature is evidenced by the spatial organization and patterns of land use of the historic area. The landscape features combined with their spatial organization “form visual links or barriers ... others create spaces and visual connections in the landscape” (Birnbaum, 1996, p. 15). These features serve to organize landscape by defining and creating spaces which may be dependent on land usage. “Both the functional and visual relationship between spaces is integral to the historic character of a property” (Birnbaum, 1996, p. 15). These spatial relationships are not stagnant. The components of this three-dimensional organization consist of the topography, vegetation, circulation, water feature, and structures which include site furnishings, and objects. Neiman (1986) recognized that buildings in themselves represent “the products of ideas in the minds of their builders, which to a large extent are shared by the members of the social group under consideration” (p. 294). But even beyond the buildings, the spatial relationships that exist between buildings, and their relationship to the larger context, create the cultural landscape that provides us with the social and spiritual connections to the people and how they lived.

The idea of strong cultural forces as evident in building placement has been studied as well by Edward Chappell in the Massanutten Settlement of the Shenandoah

Valley, Virginia. In his study, Chappell (1986) recognized that “patterns of continuity and change in essential forms, such as recurring or changing combinations of spatial arrangements in architecture, reflect corresponding stability or unrest within the culture” (in a, p. 28). Furthering this concept, Wood (1997), postulates that

Community is a ‘social web’ or, more explicitly, ‘a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds....Space and place denote common experience; and, in the traditional view, community as experience and community as place were one. The organization of the common space—the settlement form—reflects in large measure the configuration or spatial structure of the social web (p. 53).

How does the Salem store fit within this organization of “common experience?”

Maps, artist’s images, community diaries, and letters shed light on this organization and on how the buildings of Salem fit this idea of community as “social web.”

Wood (1997) believes that “the modern world, consciously or not, invents its past in its own image” (p. 8). As such he feels that the meanings that we attach to buildings and places serve our needs, and may not always be accurate. In the case of the New England village, the pattern of the first settlement during colonial times was determined by agrarian activity, shaped by the English culture. Wood (1997) also discusses the concept of “central place, what geographers commonly call an active marketplace that dominates and is central to a market area” (p. 89). As he explains, central places in New England were not “immaculately conceived” because New England villages were not “the creation of something new out of whole cloth, but an elaboration of an existing settlement” (Wood, 1997, p. 89). Salem, was however, immaculately conceived, thus firmly establishing its role as a central place. As his major sources, Wood utilized town

histories, maps, land records, surveys, descriptions of villages and townscapes, and a tax census. These sources helped him determine the cultural imprint of the village townscape on the geography of New England. For the study of Salem's community store, the researcher used a multitude of sources—maps, artists' images, written documents and building accounts to ascertain the cultural imprint of the store on the town of Salem and the North Carolina back country.

Wood in *The New England Village*, analyses the genesis of the central- place theory of town design. He recognizes that the structure of towns and villages were an attempt to bring order to settlement. As such, "Towns were meant to model in a secular form the covenantal relationship of God and man in temporal and religious affairs" (Wood, 1997, p. 38). This description appears applicable to the community of Salem as well. In 1765, in attempting to select the site for the town that would be Salem, several locations were closely examined as to their suitability and were submitted to the Lot--an example of just how much control of site selection was determined by cultural circumstances. For the Moravians the use of the Lot was not a trivial lottery, but rather a way to determine the will of the Lord in matters of great importance. The drawing of the lot was performed by the church elders. In a bowl were usually three pieces of hollow reed, each containing a small rolled piece of paper; on one piece was written *ja*, or yes, on one was *nein*, or no, and the third was blank. Sometimes scripture verses were used to indicate the appropriate answer. For the selection of the location for the town of Salem, five different locations over a period of several days were submitted to the Lord's

approval. The affirmative answer was finally drawn on the sixth attempt. On that day, Feb. 14, 1765 the Records of the Moravians tell us:

It is pleasant that the Text today fits beautifully:--“Let thine eyes be opened toward this house night and day, even toward the place of which Thou hast said, My name shall be there [1 Kings VIII, 15.] (v. 1, p.310).

Obviously spiritual matters were of utmost importance for the building of the town of Salem; even the name Salem comes from the Hebrew meaning “Peace.” The pious Moravians would also no doubt have been influenced by the scripture from Matthew 5:14 which says, “You are the light of the world. A city on a hill cannot be hid.” By placing their city on a ridge, the Moravians were using the landscape to in effect make a spiritual statement. In reading the *Records of the Moravians* one cannot help but be moved by the attempt of the members of the town to live a life of faith and trust in God. The cultural aspects of life in Salem revolved around rather strict rules and regulations, which were overseen by the church government. Life in Salem did follow more stringent guidelines than life for Moravians living in surrounding farming communities. This “city on a hill” was held to a higher standard.

Moravian communities differed depending on the type of community which was established. There were communities all over the world, but there greatest difference besides, cultural, was in how the community was to be organized. In 1772 Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg compiled a “short Account about the protestant Unity of the Brethren and its inward and outward Constitution” (v. 3; 977-1018). This document was an attempt to clarify many misconceptions about the Moravians; two centuries later,

this writing gives a clear understanding of the intent of the Moravians for their communities:

The Places where Brethren's Congregations exist are of different kinds...Some of them are quite new erected, where nobody lived before, and have been built with this in view that there should dwell none but members of the Congregation unmixed with other men. These Places are in the strictest sense called Congregation-Places, for instance Herrnhuth, Gnadenfrey, Fulneck, Bethlehem, Salem, Sarepta, &c (v. 2, p. 980).

Salem was one of these "Congregation-Places" that was developed where no one had ever lived before to be able to restrict the community only to those who were members of the Moravian church. As part of this planning to create a new community, the design and layout of the town were of utmost concern and consideration because,

A Congregation-Town differs from other Congregations in that it is more like one family, where the religious and material condition of each member is known in detail, where each person receives the appropriate Choir oversight, and also assistance in consecrating the daily life. This must be considered in deciding the form of the Town Plan (v. 1, p. 313).

The original plan for Salem was designed in 1755, by Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the leader of the Moravian church. His beautiful vision of a utopian city relied on the aesthetic principle of symmetry, with an octagonal city of concentric design. (Fig. II-1) This plan is the "only known attempt to put a Vitruvian radical [*sic*; should that be 'radial?'] concentric plan on American soil" (Sommer, 2000, p. 36). At the physical and spiritual center of the city was the church, from which radiated eight boulevards. Surrounding the church was to be eight congregation buildings. Individual family houses and lots lined the eight boulevards with the graveyard located in an outer

segment, facing east. This city which was to be built in the Piedmont of North Carolina

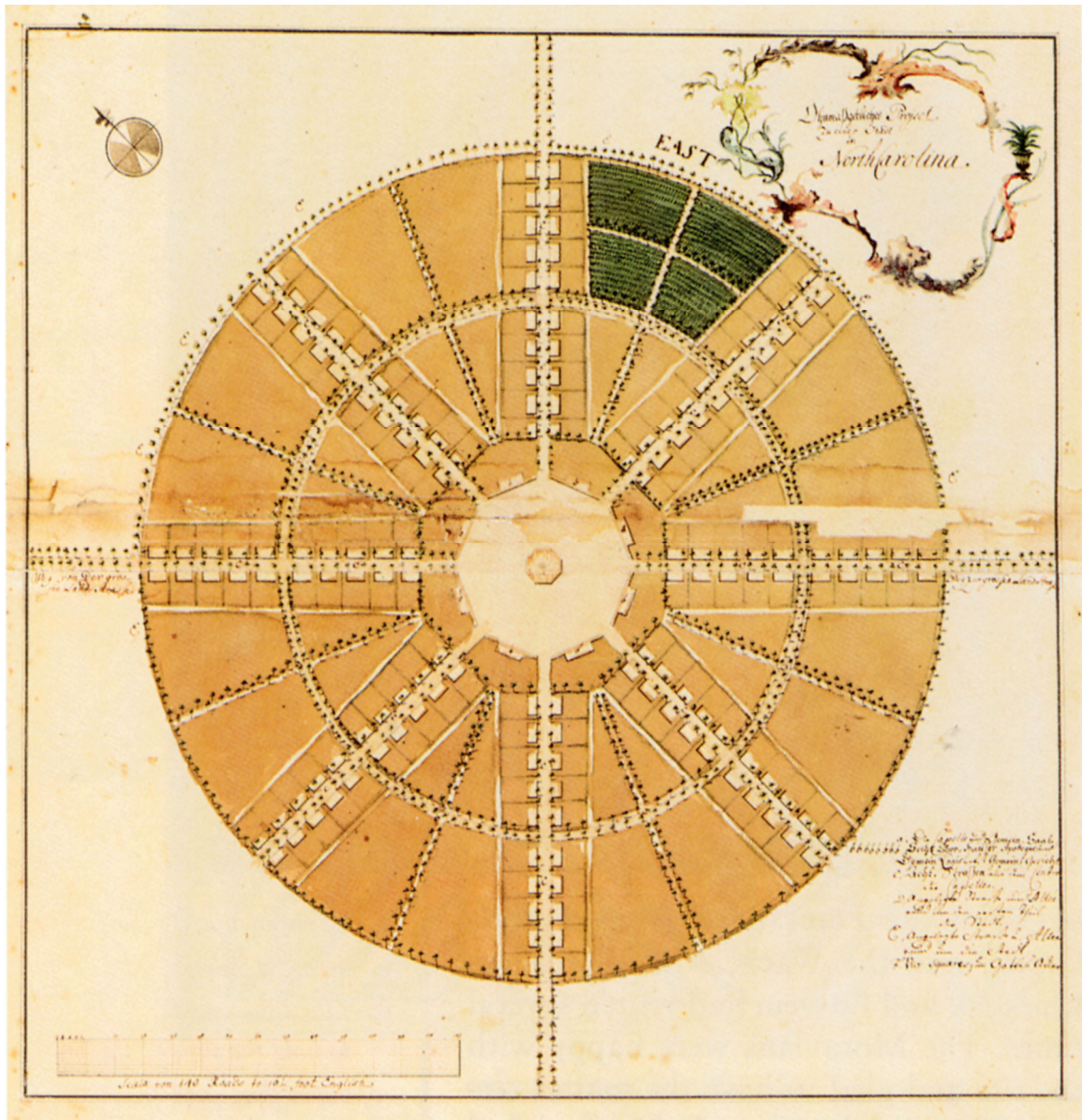


Figure II-1. Count Zinzendorf's plan for the town of *Unitas* [Salem]. 1745. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, Germany. TS Mp.100.6.

was to be named *Unitas*, and was to cover an area of more than 380 acres (Niven and Wright, 2000). Zinzendorf, however, had never visited North Carolina. Quite simply, the topography of this area with its rolling hills would not accommodate this ambitious

plan. In an analysis of eighteenth-century cultural process, Henry Glassie recognizes the same concept: “Exactly the same house type might work nicely in a metropolis or a wilderness, but different settings obviously require quite different relationships between the house and other structures” (Glassie, 1986, p. 413). Although Glassie is specifically discussing farm plans, the concept of appropriateness fits both situations. The local leaders, recognizing the problem, drew up more suitable plans for the town, which worked with, rather than against, the lay of the land. The realized town plan was based on a grid system, with public buildings surrounding a central open Square. Although this exemplified a balance between aesthetics and practicality, aesthetics were not abandoned, but simply reorganized to be more suitable to the local terrain, as suggested by Marshall’s attempt “to keep the plan symmetrical” (v. 1, p. 314).

The Square as the “architectural heart of the town” (Hodgson, 1990, p. 24) was designed to be a space for public use and enjoyment. The fenced grassy Square was kept trimmed by sheep. Sycamores, lindens and catalpa trees were planted with a circle of eight cedar trees in the center, probably planted as a nod to Zinzendorf’s original octagonal plan for Salem. The site for the location of the rectangular Square shifted south when Christian Reuter, the surveyor, recognized that the original location would not work adequately for the purpose of the water delivery system. The lower location of the Square would permit better flow of water through an underground water system, the first in the southeast. Hollowed-out wood, (and later, clay) pipes carried water from springs northwest of town and delivered this life-giving liquid to five locations in town. One pump location was on the southwest corner of the Square. This advanced water system

was one of the aspects of life in Salem which much impressed President George Washington on his 1791 visit to Salem (Fries, 1983, in c, p. 42).

Practical and economic matters were also part of the overall plan. In a letter written by Marshall, his concern for fire safety was part of his foresight in planning: “In a Congregation-Town, therefore not more than two houses should be built side by side (which also lessens the fire risk,) and where possible each family should have a separate house” (v. 1, 313). Economic factors as well entered into the design of Salem:

This town is not designed for farmers but for those with trades, but until the town has so grown that each resident can support his family with the money earned by his handicraft or profession it will be necessary, as in Lititz, for each to have an out-lot and a meadow where he can raise his bread, flax, etc. and winter a cow, so that each family may have milk and butter, and perhaps also keep a couple of pigs, and so have food with little outlay of money (v. 1, 315).

Precedents were considered, using the plans of other Moravian towns which had worked well, learning from past successes and mistakes.

Here in Pennsylvania it is customary in new towns to make each lot wide enough so that there may be an entrance beside the house to the yard behind, as most people do some farming, and the lots are deep enough that in addition to the yard there is a garden, which is very convenient for the owner; and the warmer the land the more comfortable this method is (v. 1, 313).

The wisdom of Marshall and other church leaders resulted in a thorough design and execution of a town which balanced the practical, daily needs of its residents, with the desire to create an environment of aesthetic beauty, which would serve to nurture Salem residents in a life of industry and faithfulness.

In the plans for the town, needs were considered for all potential residents. The town of Salem was a family community, and all members of this family, young and old, male and female, were given consideration. This demographic equilibrium is essential to further the cultural influences of a spiritual community that considered themselves to all



Figure II-2. Single Sisters' House. Photo L. Culler.

be children of God.

The Moravian tradition of grouping members of a community into “Choirs” was evidence of this concept. These Choirs were not singing groups, although they did sing together, but rather,

they were groups determined by a person’s age, marital status and gender. Originally created by Zinzendorf for spiritual edification, the Choir served as a support group for each member (Niven and Wright, 2000, p. 11). It is in the homes for the single men and women that we see most clearly a balance between male and female. The Single Sisters’ Choir House (Fig. II-2), built in 1786, sits diagonally across the Square from its male counterpart—the Single Brothers’ Choir House (Fig. II-3). With the addition to the 1769 Single Brothers’ House in 1786, and the construction of the Single Sisters’ House the same year, there was a physical balance in the size of the two buildings. The two

buildings also served the same function for their respective genders--both as home and workplace. Since both buildings were planned by Frederic William Marshall, Wachovia's chief administrator and city planner, the two buildings were given equal importance in terms of architectural style and form, and thus exhibit a balance between male and female.



Figure II-3. Single Brothers' House. Photo L. Culler.

According to the building plans for the town, demographics of age were also of consideration. Homes for the widows and widowers were of concern, as well as suitable space for recreation and education of the young. "Among us it is not only an economical arrangement, but particularly good for the children, who can thereby have room for their recreations under oversight" (v. 1, 313). Friedrich Marshall's plans recognizing needs of

all present the family concept of the town as an equalizer in addressing the requirements for a faithful life within the landscape of the community.

In the design and planning of Salem much was considered. It is through these considerations of spiritual matters, enjoyment, economic factors, aesthetics, practicality, and demographics, those decisions were shaped. And it is because these decisions were affected by the culture and history of the Moravians that we gain a clearer understanding of how these values are transformed into cultural landscape, and thus relate to the Store.

MATERIAL CULTURE

For this research the discipline of Material Culture was utilized as a major method to analyze the Salem Store. This concept, for this purpose may be subdivided into two categories-Architecture and Goods/Products. Jules Prown's studies supplied a structure which was employed in understanding both of these categories. In his work, *Art as Evidence*, Prown presents his theory of Object Analysis, a method by which any object may be dissected for clearer insight, by employing techniques of Description, Deduction and Speculation.

Stewart Brand's "6-S" layering concept was another principle used as a framework in the methodology for this project. His layering system was utilized as a tool of Material Culture, to peel apart the architecture layer by layer, and to study the goods/products as one of these layers. Both Brand's and Prown's concepts are discussed in more detail in the Methodology chapter.

Architecture

To study eighteenth century architecture in Salem is to delve into the world of vernacular architecture. Upton and Vlach discuss what is and what is not considered vernacular architecture. They recognize that although many people may have a basic understanding of what type of architecture is vernacular, it is hard to define.

The vernacular builder, usually a local tradesman, creates not so much what he personally thinks is best but what he knows or senses his customers will want. Thus the consumers of vernacular architecture are also important form givers, a circumstance that provides vernacular architecture with a strong popular or social identity. As the creation of local people, vernacular architecture presents less the wants of any single person than what is communally sanctioned (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xvi).

Particularly with the first wave of immigrants to an area, builders bring with them the knowledge of building from their homeland, and in constructing they use the knowledge, the tools available to them, as well as the raw materials at hand. “The more self-sufficient and socially secure a community is, the more definite is its sense of identity and the more fixed are its architectural conventions” (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xvi). It is about function.

Richard Longstreth in his study of commercial buildings, acknowledges that although there have been locations for the transactions of business for centuries; those structures took the form of market halls with community meeting rooms above during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In the colonial period on America, these markets were meeting places and often significant structures. Smaller shops usually contained an upper

floor residence. Not until the 19th century in America does a distinctive style of architecture develop solely devoted to commercial activities. Longstreth points to the business structure as indicator of the health of a community.

As private enterprise was the principal generator of the nation's development, so commercial architecture played a central role in defining the character of its settlements. Town building preoccupied a large portion of the westward-moving populace. Many Americans shared the dream that their own communities would one day emerge as great urban centers. The size and extent of a community's commercial buildings serves as an index to its achievements and its potential. Even in the frontier town, many of the earliest and finest permanent buildings were erected to house commercial enterprises. Businesses were intentionally clustered in more or less central districts. This core was not only instrumental in giving a town its identity, but also provided a focus for its activities. Main Street became to America what the piazza was to Italy (Longstreth, 2000, p.12-13).

Longstreth's description of the importance of the commercial building is focused on the period in America of westward expansion. His Main Streets are those that primarily develop around the turn of the nineteenth century; and his method of categorization revolves principally around the building façade. While his perspective is directed later than the time period of this study, there are some insights which prove to be of interest for this research. And some of his indicators are revealed in the study of the store in Salem, built in 1775, indicating that Salem was ahead of its time.

Chappell (1994) recognizes the importance many scholars have placed on the objects of the eighteenth century in shaping culture through what has been called the consumer evolution. He further postulates that it is through the houses, as "containers" of these goods that we can receive greater illumination, for

They [houses] are the ultimate consumer object. Houses embody attitudes toward material life and are shaped by new domestic activities and changing economic conditions. While many people live their lives without building or significantly altering their houses, those who do demonstrate much about social relations and perceived domestic needs. Degrees of permanence, size, allowance for privacy, and finish employed in rooms for specialized domestic activity all reveal people's priorities as well as their ability to pay. Ideas about light, cleanliness, and warmth are of special significance. Costly and resistant to easy modification, housing is more essential to standards of living than objects easily acquired and discarded. Broad shifts in housing may be, then, more reliable measures of how life changed than chamber pots and dressing boxes (in b, p.159-160).

The architecture of the store building provides us with an understanding of the “social identity” of the Moravians in Salem. This building tells us about the “form givers”—the builders and planners, and how the spaces illustrate cultural aspects of function and usage. “People do not, after all, construct buildings or create landscapes primarily as sculptural forms, or as signposts of cultural diffusion, or to impress their descendents with their ancestors’ cleverness, but to use in their day-to-day activities”(Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xviii).

In studying the form of a vernacular structure, it is important to examine the functions of each room and the relationships that are shaped by the room. In other studies, household inventories and probates have assisted in the understanding of the contents of a space, its function, and the relationships that transpired in the space. For this research, an undated floor plan will provide information to assess the relationship between people and objects to understand these social connections, and what was considered important. Concepts of space and privacy are affected by social hierarchies, but it is important to try to distance oneself at the time of study, to prevent layering our

twenty-first century perceptions and thus clouding the assessment (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xx).

Upton and Vlach (1986), reflecting on Glassie's concepts of vernacular architecture, remind us that,

Glassie was arguing that the members of a culture learn the principles of their culture rather than merely memorizing its specific contents. This allows them to invent new cultural 'performances'—whether those be houses or settlement patterns or speeches or personal encounter—that do not necessarily duplicate any other example but that obviously share the same underlying principles. Thus Glassie introduces and accounts for the phenomenon that Noam Chomsky called 'creativity': "the ability to create a unique artifact while remaining within culturally determined limits..." which is the "fundamental problem for understanding vernacular design (p. xxii).

The study of vernacular architecture is "fundamentally a humanistic study." It is important to study a building and determine where choices were made in the construction. These decisions are the best points at which to understand vernacular architecture, because in these decisions it is possible to gain a clearer understanding of the builder and his cultural influences.

It is even more important to know why vernacular builders do what they do than to know how they do it... We appreciate buildings and landscapes and furniture as handsome objects, but if we really understand them we know that what is most important is to appreciate the people who made them (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xxiii).

The close examination of the Salem store building through this perspective will be utilized to gain a firmer grasp on the people and how they may have influenced architectural decisions. An undated floor plan suggested for the store will be compared

against the actual construction, and perhaps aid in understanding why changes were made, thus reflecting the ideology of vernacular architecture.

Brand recognizes that old buildings hold a certain appeal and asks the question “What makes a building come to be loved?” ...he answers, it is “*age plus adaptability*” (Brand, 1994, p. 23). The building which served as both store and residence has over its two hundred year history, survived in spite of, and possibly because of adaptation. Through several stages of its evolution, the Store building now shows a restored exterior to the world; but the interior use as museum store all but erases the past of the interior.

Old buildings embody history. They are worlds; in old buildings we glimpse the world of previous generations. The cultural historian Ivan Illich remarked once, ‘History gives up distance from the present, as if it were the future of the past. In the spirit of contemplation it releases us from the prison of the present to examine the axioms of our time.’ Old buildings give us that experience directly, not through words (Brand, 1994, p. 90).

It is precisely because it is old that it has appeal, because it has stood the test of time, and not fallen to passing fancy. Although the Store has outlived several passing fashions, its history is mute to today’s visitor. By bringing to light the use and space of the interiors, it is hoped that the store building will be able to speak to its past worlds. “Any building older than 100 years will be considered beautiful, no matter what. Having outlived its period of being out of fashion, plus several passing fashions since that, it is beyond fashion” (Brand, 1994, p. 90).

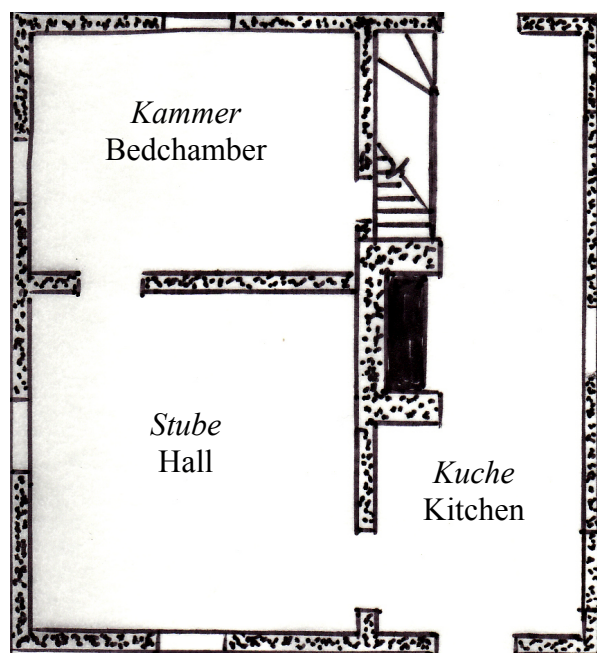
Old buildings, like the Salem store, gain

...the loyalty of their occupants and visitors, old buildings that stay in use rise to other freedoms. By spanning generations, they transcend style and turn it into

history...By showing a tangible deep history, the building proposes an equally deep future and summons the taking of long-term responsibility from its occupants (Brand, 1994, p. 35).

The Salem store has transcended several generations over its 234 year history. It has succumbed to change and passing fancy, but maintained enough of its original character and structure to be restored and continue its usefulness into the twenty-first century, operating as a reincarnation of its original intended purpose. As probably the oldest standing retail store in Forsyth County, its future is solidly based in its past. It is the intention of this research to bring those stories of the past more fully to the present, to secure the building's future.

The early buildings in Salem are clear evidence of the Germanic influence of the Moravians as brought to the backcountry wilderness of North Carolina. Upton describes



the common form of German houses-- the *Flurkuchenhaus*, a house with entry directly into a rectangular first floor kitchen, equipped with a central chimney. (Fig. II-4) The *Stube*, or square entertaining room, on the opposite side of the large internal chimney, was heated by a stove that was vented into the cooking fireplace. Behind the *Stube* was a narrow sleeping chamber, and larger houses

Figure II-4. Plan of *Flurkuchenhaus*. L. Culler.

might include additional sleeping chambers in a second story. In addition to sleeping, attic or garret space was also used for food and other storage. Interior wall surfaces often left construction exposed. A roof covered with flat shingle-like tiles was usually supported by a simple gable shape, built from a complex framing system. The selection of a hillside site provided exterior access to vaulted cellars. Some construction relied on log joinery, but often German buildings were built of heavy exposed timber framing, called *Fachwerk*. Upton theorizes that among the more affluent Germans, there was a desire to distance themselves from their vernacular architecture, as evidenced in the shift from the original half-timbered section of the Single Brothers House in Salem, (Fig. II-3) to the 1786 addition of the same building, constructed in all brick with Flemish bond (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. 68-72). Several early Salem buildings conform to these traditional Germanic elements of architecture, including form and style. However, the store building does not fit this profile. Part of this investigation will be to examine the store as an exception to the rule.

One perspective for examining a structure is to view it as being composed of layers. Brand describes his 6-S sequence, which is a concept that applies to both the design and construction of a building, which identifies design and skills necessary for each layer, and helps provide a context for how a building relates to people (Brand, 1994, p.17). These layers are explained in detail in the Methodology Chapter. They inform the geographic context of a building, the design and construction technology involved in erecting a structure, the functions the structure is created to perform, the usage of the building according to room orientation, and the relation of the structure to its

contents and inhabitants. Using this layering concept provided a formula for studying the community store building and residence.

The Salem Store, like many structures in Salem, reflects the medieval custom of containing both home and work in one building. Gorringer and Brand both provide ways to examine this structure as it pertains to work, home and residents:

Some have argued that the idea of 'home' only developed with the growth of demands for comfort and privacy after the sixteenth century, whilst others argue that it only arises when people's work is separated from their place of residence, when it becomes the antithesis to work, a place of leisure and of affective rather than exploitative relationships (Gorringer, 2002, p. 80-81).

According to classical Greek and Roman the idea of "domus" was that house and occupants were one (Brand, 1994, p. 23). This is enlightening to view the building and occupants as one in this concept of domus, and especially in understanding the Salem Store building as both home and work, since this structure was residence and commercial space. In this research, it is necessary to understand both aspects of the building. As we investigate the residence as domus, we also assess the store space as the vehicle for selling articles of material culture as a "container" for the wares sold there, as well as a link in a larger chain of trade.

Goods/Products

The awareness of imports is crucial in understanding a store because it is for the purpose of receiving, displaying, selling, and storing merchandise that a store exists. Even more important than the objects themselves is the interaction of building and

objects; it is the understanding of the spatial arrangement of the structure that defines these actions. Thus, it is through an intersection of vernacular architecture and material culture that we may gain the clearest view of the Salem store.

The concept of “material culture” basically states that it is through objects that we gain a more accurate view of history. Objects can be interpreted to embody our values and thus they become excellent records of a culture and indicators of a society’s value system. Bushman (1992) discusses “...how ideals interacting with materials changed the American environment and shaped American culture” (in a, p. xii). It is his theory that the consumption of the eighteenth century was part of developing a level of gentility. His sources used in understanding the culture of gentility included maps, period images, house plans, inventories, sumptuary laws, courtesy books, pattern books, period literature, and letters. In studying commerce of this time period it is impossible to ignore this concept of consumerism that affected the culture. “So closely intertwined were economic growth and the expansion of gentility that it becomes impossible to determine which was cause and which effect” (Bushman, 1992, in a, p. xviii). For the study of the Salem Store these concepts were considered to determine if that was true of the consumer experience in Salem.

The scholar whose research is most applicable to this study is that of Ann Smart Martin. In several publications, she has focused on the stores and commerce of the eighteenth century and their impact. Her interdisciplinary approach employs concepts from anthropology, psychology, sociology, art history, economics, social history, material culture, and archaeology. In her essay “Commercial Space as Consumption

Arena: Retail Stores in early Virginia” in *People, Power, Places: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, she provides an invaluable look into the store space by identifying floor plans and inventories that analyze the interior spaces of a commercial environment in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century South. She states the importance of studying retail business: “With our rising scholarly interest in commerce and culture—consumerism as a cultural form and the economic shifts to capitalism—these buildings are gaining fresh interest as one of the most important institutions and places of everyday life” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 202). How does consumerism of the Salem Store shed light on the culture of the community? To examine this consumerism, Martin (1993) provides a formula for the study of goods. “We need to test carefully how consumer goods came into the lives of average men and women in a particular place and time in the early modern era, as we need to look carefully at why those very things should become so desirable” (in a, p. 44). Martin believes there are three criteria for an object to become a possession—it must be affordable, available, and desirable. These three must all be met for an object to be acquired, and this requires the study of economics, anthropology, history, and material culture. “Most importantly, it reinforces our need to constantly bring theory down to individual realities” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 46). In examining availability and affordability, Martin (1993) looks at “artifacts as products in exchange systems and commodities with exchange values.” With the concept of desirability, she examines “how artifacts function in ritualized behavior, differentiation of social rank, formation of social group, and how meaning is conferred, circumscribed, and changed” (in a, p. 46).

Martin's concept of Consumer Choice Constraints is an excellent tool to examine consumerism and the choices made to acquire an object.

Availability—or lack thereof—turns the study of material objects outward to the systems that produce them, and the processes of information, communication, and distribution that moved them from place to place. But the availability of an object is also intertwined with price or value (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 51).

For someone to desire to possess a product it must be available to him or her. It is through the object and its role as a product that we can reveal its availability as part of a system of exchange. In Salem, prices were basically controlled by the ruling commercial boards. The minutes of these boards were investigated to determine how such decisions were influential in Salem's economy. Martin's chart on Constraints of Consumer Choice aids in understanding decisions made by merchant and customer, which affected supply and demand.

Through distribution "goods thus become proxies or markers for the economic activities themselves...Goods can also reveal the physical movement of people as they carry cultural traits spatially across the American landscape" (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 46). Research into store accounts, ledgers and community diaries provided a window to look into the store business and to gain insight into economic activities through the movement of goods in and out of Salem.

Martin (1993) states that "Goods as commodities are carriers of other kinds of cultural communication" (in a, p. 49). As she explains, drinking tea from a china tea cup decorated with Chinoiserie scenes was a way for an individual to be transported to the Orient. Certainly, a china cup is not necessary for the consumption of tea. A pottery

mug could serve the function equally as well. But both tea and cup provided a type of communication between cultures.

That the information was produced explicitly for the Western consumer and based on Asian understanding—or misunderstanding—of what they thought the European market wanted makes no difference. Products for the consumer market were a main source of communication between two cultures halfway around the world (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 49).

Martin (1993) suggests that as such objects become “meteors of human behavior” (in a, p. 47), because they leave a trail of communication between cultures.

Martin explains that affordability of an object is in part based on its rarity and demand. Rarity is measured in terms of the finished product itself or in terms of the materials or workmanship of the object. Demand is determined by the nature and the size of the market for that item. Through both rarity and demand, the value is reflected in what the culture deems to be important, providing

...but one measure of the distance between the one who desires the good and the object of that desire. This enables a classic definition of a luxury—something that is rare or costly. But it also puts a human element back into the market by simply acknowledging that the sum of labor, materials, transport, and mark-up do not always equal price (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 45).

The concept of desirability suggests that objects take on “multiple roles ...as props for behavior; badges of class or rank; symbols of cultural meaning; conduits of emotion and elements of art, style, or fashion,” and as such they become “props for the drama of life” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 59). Tea may certainly be consumed from an old mug with a broken handle, but does it provide the same experience as drinking that tea

from a porcelain blue transferware teacup? When specialized activity or behavior is involved, the importance of objects tends to become amplified. “‘Looking the part’ is part of the mirror view of the self; it reinforces one’s belief in his ability to play the role. Products play an important role in how others see us, thus they have a heightened role in how we see ourselves” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 60-61). Objects can become part of a very complex series of actions that are

...socially-charged, representing a complex pattern of activity that demonstrates a competence of role. Such a pattern of activity may be thought of as a script, defined by Robert P. Adelson as ‘a coherent sequence of events expected by the individual, involving him either a participant or as an observer (qtd. Levy, 1981, p. 52).

“Paradoxically, the greater the comfort with role and familiarity with script, the less reliance on material objects is necessary...Reliance on material objects can be a compensatory measure for missing confidence” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 61-62). This viewpoint provides a foundation for understanding certain scripts evident in Salem that require specific props as markers of class or status. According to Martin, this indicates there was a lack of confidence that pervaded and thus required objects as status markers.

Objects and the resulting patterns of behavior that are part of these socially-charged actions, become “social markers.” Some objects become necessary for the individual to perform the “script” accurately. Goods become objects that “do not just reflect needs, they can also create them. Finally, the use of goods as behavioral props is necessary to convince not only the audience but often one’s self as well” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 62). Martin (1993) asks

...when do goods and behavior as social markers take on special potency? First, when social hierarchies are in flux, when social classes are challenged, bridges and fences become even more important. Secondly, as individuals try to move through the social hierarchy, goods as props or signs of social rank become more important. A final and important case in which appearances and material goods take on added potency as social markers occurs when the social stage is an urban arena. When an individual's status is not known (via family, occupation, etc.), it must be inferred (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 69-70).

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the time period for this study, all of these criteria were present. These questions become important ones to frame discussion of the business operated by Traugott Bagge for the Salem community, during this time of social unrest, as Martin explains, because, this time was one of great social economic and cultural uncertainty and change and it was a period of "heightened class flux, as the middling ranks grew in number and relative importance" (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 157). This combined with the increase in urban communities which separated many people from their family ties which identified their status. And perhaps most important for the study of material culture, is the increase in goods available that created desire and enabled new meanings to become attached to stuff; these situations allowed a person to identify with the class of their intention rather than their upbringing.

For it was the rise of the retail trade that placed a veritable emporium in their towns and villages, that gave people continual fresh information about material objects, and put a man behind the counter to convince them to buy. It is the new availability (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 157).

How is this "new availability" evident in Salem? New wares were available for purchase that shaped the social relationships in Salem. Account books, and inventories of other

Moravian stores of the period answered some questions of material culture. This information assisted in learning how “the consuming American [is seen] as both symbol and result of larger transformations in early America” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 16). With regard to these transformations, it is interesting to note that many scholars have identified that, “one of the greatest ironies of the eighteenth century was that colonial culture was growing more English, right up to the decade before the Revolution” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 34). These points helped to enlighten where Salem fell in their use of objects as indicators of social priorities.

Exports

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, exports were mostly “products of farm and forest,” also, abundance of wildlife meant trappers and hunters who

...’live like the Indians, shoot many deer, and sell their skins.’ To the store of the Moravians came numbers of these men, bringing their wares for sale. So important was this trade that for a number of years the chief export of the backcountry consisted of skins, especially deerskins (Crittenden, 1936, p. 90).

Until 1775 when the price of skins was in decline, deerskins were the primary product being exported from Wachovia. When deerskins declined, butter took over as the main export (Crittenden, 1936, p. 68). The West Indies were part of the British trade exchange, but they did not produce much food, so provisions were important exports going to the British islands in the Caribbean. Provisions were the second most important export, including: corn, peas, beans, wheat, flour, live stock, beef, pork and fish.

Imports

While exports from the colonies consisted mostly of bulky raw products, imports were primarily manufactured goods and products from the tropics. Imported goods, and the taxes levied on them, are considered to be a spark in the Revolution against England. Imports of manufactured goods coming from Great Britain, consisted of large quantities of cloth (Crittenden, 1936, p. 80). Many of these fabrics were first made in Europe or the East, being shipped to England, then to America; but by this time period, many were made in Great Britain for export to her colonies (Crittenden, 1936, p. 79). Clothing was being imported from England, often simply listed as “haberdashery,” this included shoes, felt hats, “‘Carolina’ hats, silk hats, silk bonnets, sewing silk, silk ribbons, calamanco shoes, and girls’ and women’s stuff shoes” (Crittenden, 1936, p. 81).

The types of imports brought into North Carolina were manufactured items and some foodstuffs. Any goods originating in Europe or the East, by law first went through England before shipping to the colonies, with many of those goods often shipped first by way of the northern ports. Foodstuffs from the British West Indies shipped directly to North Carolina, or occasionally, were shipped through Great Britain. North Carolina was a valuable market of manufactured goods from England, importing at least L100,000 (Crittenden, 1936, p. 82-84).

Although less varied and including fewer luxuries, the imports of the backcountry were in the main similar to those of the east in that they consisted almost exclusively of manufactured goods and foodstuffs. The chief articles were clothes and haberdashery of the coarser varieties, the cheaper types of pots, pans, kettles, dishes, cutlery, and other household implements; axes, hoes, scythes, and other farm tools; and staple commodities of food and drink, such as rum, molasses, salt and sugar, which could not be produced at home (Crittenden, 1936, p. 90).

Trade Routes

It is important to know something of the movement of goods and products, and thus study the trade routes which were the means of their distribution. The earliest trading routes were developed by the first occupants—the Saura, Tutelo and Saponi tribes of Native Americans. The effectiveness of these routes can be reinforced by the fact they are still basically in use today as NC 67, NC65, NC66 and Old Salisbury Road. It seems once the Moravian settled in the North Carolina piedmont, existing connections were expanded and improved to facilitate their trading (NCAIA, 1978, p. 6).

The major lifeline of the backcountry was the Great Wagon Road, which ran northeast from Wachovia. The Moravians possessed a copy of the Fry Jefferson map which identifies this road, and they likely employed this map for their travels north to Pennsylvania. But since their major market locations were southeast, the Great Wagon Road was not of great benefit for their trading purposes (Merrens, 1964, p. 12, 208fn).

The Moravians from the earliest time, even before the settlement of Wachovia, investigated routes for trade.

The businesslike Moravians tried every route as roads were cut from Bethabara eastward through Guilford to Edenton, to Springhill and Cross Creek (Fayetteville) on the Cape Fear, and south along the Waxhaw, or by way of Charlotte to Pine Tree Hill (Camden) on the Wateree, where the road from Charles Town terminated. As population mounted, an important development of side roads increased to link new settlements with the main highways. Bethabara and later Salem, the Moravians found, became ‘more and more a house of passage’ as countless poor but passable ways were cut through the woods. Brother Gottfried Reuter, as roadmaster of Dobbs Parish in 1774, had signs posted at all nearby crossroads giving direction and the distance to the nearest settlement ‘to the great satisfaction of travelers’ (Bridenbaugh, 1963, p. 145-146).

Salem which was first established in 1766, but was not a fully functioning town until 1772. In 1767, a road was extended from Salem, southeast, linking directly to Fayetteville (Cross Creek), which opened the southeastern part of Wachovia and extended trading opportunities. To the west, Salem was connected by a road to the Shallowford in 1770. Within five years, Salem had become established as a major trading center for Wachovia and the surrounding area (NCAIA, 1978, p. 7). And by 1793 the Brooks Ferry Services were established on the Yadkin River, north of the Shallowford (NCAIA, 1978, p. 7-8). Collet's and Mouzon's maps indicate that by the time of the Revolution there was a great network of highways in both coastal plain and piedmont. Of these later north-south roads one lead through Halifax and Tarborough, one or more through Cross Creek, at least one through Hillsborough, and one through the heart of the piedmont region, touching Salem, Salisbury and Charlotte (Crittenden, 1936, p. 23).

Transportation

But roads were bad, which made for difficult travel. In addition, other problems added to the hardship of travel. The many rivers and sounds were a life-threatening problem when a hard shower caused flooding. Travelers would have to wait for the water to recede to be passable. Where there were ferries, they were not always reliable. Bridges were often privately constructed and were paid by collecting a toll. Other problems travelers confronted were getting lost, having difficulty finding lodging and food. When possible, lodging was sought at a home, where the host often prided himself

in extending hospitality—but homes were not always very pleasant. There were, however, a few nice inns—in Hillsborough; in Salem a neat and comfortable tavern; Cool Spring Tavern at Fayetteville; Wilmington claimed a number of inns and a coffeehouse; between Greenville and Tarborough. Inns and taverns were regulated by law, requiring a license from the county court to operate.

Transportation was by horse to carry pack, passengers or to pull a wagon or other type of vehicle, but records of the period indicate that it was often necessary for men to help the horses pull or push wagon. It was possible, although exhausting, for a rider on horse back to cover about fifty miles in a day; but generally, it was good day when travelers were able to travel 35 miles in a day. The Moravians often had several wagons on the road traveling to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Brunswick, Charles Town, Fayetteville, and other towns. An average wagon pulled by two to four horses could carry about 2,000 pounds weight; a two-wheeled cart, pulled by 2 horses could pull about 1,000 pounds. A round trip with loaded wagon from Wachovia to Charles Town generally took about three and a half weeks to one month, at about 18 miles a day; the trip from Wachovia to Cross Creek was about 13- 14 days, covering about 19 miles a day (Crittenden, 1936, p. 29-35).

CULTURAL HISTORY

Political

T. H. Breen contributes knowledge for delving into both the economic and political impact from consumerism. Purchases tell much about a person's priorities. Decisions involving money often go to the depths of a person's value system. How money is used to purchase, or used to resist purchasing has a ripple effect which can have significant impact on the lives of others. Breen further acknowledges that economic decisions can have political ramifications. Individuals fit in the context of a community, which in turn fit within larger governmental contexts. The hierarchical relationships of these groups and their interactions form the basis for politics. During the early period of our nation, the combination of economic and political decisions had enormous impact (Breen, 1986).

The Revolutionary War years were times of much turmoil in Salem. The young town had barely begun to establish itself as the intended commercial center in the backcountry wilderness. The plans were successful, in that Salem was beginning to outshine the court towns of Salisbury and Hillsborough, just two years after settlement. It was to a large degree because of this success that so many demands were made of Salem. Traugott Bagge played a huge role in that success, by first working at the store in Bethabara, such that when it was time to settle Salem, he was able to bring an already established business to the new town. Hunter James in *The Quiet People of the Land* examines this time period and the role of the Moravians in the early period of our nation's history. It is through the documents, diaries, and letters of the Moravians that a

great deal of eyewitness accounts shed light on the lives of ordinary Americans during this time. Many of those primary documents were papers collected by Traugott Bagge, as well as his account of war related activities, as it affected the Brethren. The political impact of the community store was examined by studying the Bagge Papers and community diaries. Brother Bagge, as merchant, was well traveled, educated, intelligent, and had a savvy understanding not only of the business he managed for the church, but he also had a diplomacy that allowed him to straddle both sides of the debate, befriending both Tory and Patriot, and supplying troops for both sides, while managing to provide some guidance for the Moravians in steering through these treacherous waters.

In 1775, Captain James Jack, a tavernkeeper from Mecklenburg traveled in June, to Salem with two documents both addressed to Bagge: 1) a circular which was “an Encouragement to take up arms,” and 2) a proclamation to make July 20 “a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer” (v. 2, 876). Later that summer, fall and into 1776, patriots and loyalists came to Salem for support, for this reason both Bagge and Bonn were encouraged as delegates to Provincial Congress. Bagge, Jacob Blum of Bethabara, and George Hauser Sr. of Bethania were appointed to the Surry County Committee of Safety- which they declined, and for which they were required to make an official explanation to three representatives of the committee who then in retaliation removed most of the power of Br. Bonn as Justice of the Peace and Chairman of County Court (James, 1976, p. 33, 4). Bagge’s talents were recognized by others outside Salem. Joseph William, delegate to Hillsborough Congress, invited Bagge to meet with “certain gentlemen from his county...to consider conditions in the land” (James, 1976, p. 35);

Bagge again declined, but less than two weeks later, he received another invitation from the same man. Because the Moravians declined to become involved, they were assumed to be loyalists (James, 1976, p. 34-5).

These War years were a time of trial for the pacifist Moravians, who had come to North Carolina to establish a utopian community, which they had named “Salem” from the Hebrew word *Shalom*, meaning “Peace.” For the Moravians, their pacifist stance was a “point of doctrine,” as they had “agreed to make one of their principles or rules not to fight with carnal weapons but with prayer” (James, 1976, p. 36). The key point for them was not “Thou shall not kill” but Romans 13 “Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God” (James, 1976, p. 36-7). Bagge presented a written declaration in response to not signing the oath of Provincial Congress, and by doing so pledged that they would be “quiet people” (James, 1976, p. 49). The chaos which ensued tested the Salem residents who at first fluctuated in their allegiance, recognizing the need to remain neutral, while at the same time, being placed in a position to supply provisions to both the Patriots and the Loyalists in order to avoid confrontation. During this period of unrest, it was Traugott Bagge who was perhaps the most influential person in setting the tone for Salem, in maintaining as much peace as was possible, while working feverishly to keep abreast of the ever changing commercial environment. As most businesses suffered greatly during these years—and Salem did as well—Salem still managed to hold on and stay one step ahead, primarily due to the savvy business acumen of Br. Bagge. It was because of the war, that Salem became quickly recognized for its ability to procure products and import

goods that would supply both military as well as civilian needs during these trying times. Marshall, Wachovia's *Oeconomus*, had left for Europe on church business in 1775; he, as the administrator of the Moravian towns, was at the top of the hierarchy for business matters, but in his absence, Br. Bagge stepped in and slowly became the leader who most represented Salem politically as well as commercially. The pastors of Salem also provided leadership, but more emotional and spiritual nature; while Br. Bagge fulfilled the primary role of spokesman for the Moravian towns. It is within this political environment that we must examine the material world of Salem and her people. The very fact that Br. Bagge was a merchant put him in the position of being part of a larger business network, which made him a valuable asset in understanding the trade issues associated with the Revolution.

The post-war years from 1783-1789 were a time of readjustment for America; the colonies had won their independence from England, but their unity was in name only- they did not begin to coalesce into a unified country until after the ratification of the Constitution. As Freidrich Marshall stated it,

This country is in the condition of a patient convalescing from fever, who begins to be conscious of his weakness and still needs medicine and care. The land itself, the people of property, commerce, public and private credit, the currency in circulation, all are laid waste and ruined (v. 4, 1921).

Though this statement was made about the country, this observation made by Marshall, the chief financial officer for Wachovia, was probably an accurate description of the state of Salem and the surrounding communities. Although commerce was in a sad state, and new connections and ways of doing business had to be considered, merchants soon

realized that the best way to proceed was similar to how business had been conducted prior to the war (Crittenden, 1936, p. 155-6).

Economic

Ford examines the origins of the city and believes that the basic idea of a city includes shopping. For at least half a millennia, the “search for successful architectural solutions and spatial arrangements for retailing” has been a major consideration. And the heart of the city was the market square, “where the architectural and symbolic splendor of the city was display, since the cathedral and town hall were usually at or near the market square” (Ford, 1994, p. 95).

While there was no doubt during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance that the market should be central, there was growing controversy about the proper architectural arrangement for shopping. The noun shop was applied initially to any place where goods were sold even if they were simply laid out upon the ground. Gradually, only a booth or stand was a proper shop. While shops became associated with buildings, and while a definite and predictable market square evolved, pedestrian access remained essential in order for them to function. Buyer and seller haggled over prices as they faced each other through a small opening. Shops were basically stalls with wooden double doors so that the upper part could be raised and goods hung from it while the lower part was raised as a counter. The seller stood in the stall while the buyer stood in the street. At night, the wooden doors were closed, and the street façade was blank and forbidding. Shopping was a daytime activity (Ford, 1994, p. 96).

It is important to make the distinction between the nomenclature of “shop” and “store.” Oxford English Dictionary defines a *shop* as “A house or building where goods are made or prepared for sale and sold,” deriving from the word *echoppe*, meaning a “lean-to booth.” However, *store* is

A place where merchandise is kept for sale...Chiefly *N. Amer.* and elsewhere outside the U. K. In early use, a shop on a large scale, and dealing in a great variety of articles. (footnote from 1808 ASHE Trav. ‘The common name for the places of sale in America and the colonies; differing from shop in being generally larger, and always dealing in a vast variety of articles.’) (OED).

Traugott Bagge was referred to as “Merchant,” and indeed the sign outside the store may have used this title. The word *merchant*, a derivative of the Old French *merchere* ... “spec. a dealer in textile fabrics,” and is defined by OED as, “A person who deals in textile fabrics, esp. silks, velvets, and other fine materials...Also (occas.): a dealer in haberdashery.” And further, haberdash, the noun is “petty merchandise, small wares.” A haberdasher is defined as “a dealer in a variety of articles now dealt with by other trades, including caps, and probably hats” (OED). According to these definitions, the Salem Store was most accurately considered a “store,” and merchant Bagge was dealing with some items of haberdashery. His dealing with fabrics and articles of clothing in Salem reflects his upbringing in his family businesses in Sweden and Germany.

Eighteenth century America was a period of great transformation towards the capitalist economy of the twenty-first century. Beginning with the guild system in place in Europe in the Middle Ages, Salem was holding on to the guild system but organizing it within the context of the new American market economy.

Economic life speaks to us ...--of stirrings of change, absent in the modes of planting and harvesting, spinning or weaving, but visible in the manner in which the entire panorama of planting and spinning and weaving was integrated into functioning social whole. As we already know, it will show us evidence that the market mechanism is becoming a central, order-bestowing force within society (Heilbroner, 1999, p. 18).

Materialism takes on a much more profound meaning when viewed that objects can become means of emotional fulfillment, and as such, "...materialism has been decried throughout history and denounced in every world religion. To study materialism then is not only to study consumer behavior, but also to examine shifts in intellectual feelings about the very core relations between man, God, and society" (Martin, 1993, in a, p.19). These three terms—consumerism, consumption, and materialism—"intersect and overlap in many ways. Most importantly, they center around one key theme—the intersection of people, ideas, and material objects" (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 19). This intersection is a particularly valuable way to examine the presence of materialism in eighteenth century Salem. "All, however, stress the ways man-made things fit with one another or interact with humankind, moving their collective intellectual eye in a spiral from objects to people to social group to culture or the other way around" (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 20). Recognizing the importance consumerism has played in America, Ann Smart Martin identifies how the "... new world of things and the new world of behaviors and values intersected and became a world of consumerism" (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 11). Examining that intersection of things and behaviors is critical to understanding the retail trade of the eighteenth century.

Social

Analyzing the background of the man Traugott Bagge provided an understanding of the impact he made on the community of Salem. A study of the *Records* and Bagge's

lebenslauf, or Memoir, supplied knowledge of his personal history and the experience and talents he brought to his vocation. Period accounts helped understand the social dynamics of the shopping experience.

The shopping experience was an interaction between merchant, or storekeeper, and customer. Customers were both townspeople and “outsiders” who often traveled some distance to Salem to make purchases from the store and the trade shops. Although the distance of the Tavern from the center of town is an indicator of the desire to provide a buffer between the “outsiders” or “strangers” and the residents, was there interaction at places of business? An understanding of the process of shopping in the eighteenth century helped enlighten the role of consumerism as it affects social history.

The financial considerations of the store are obviously an important topic to understand the business. Methods of payment for products were varied. Currency, commodities and credit were accepted as payment. But, especially during the trying times of the Revolution, the value of currency was extremely unstable and cause for many financial setbacks. Detailed analysis of the commercial aspects through an analysis of store ledgers and inventories was necessary to fully understand this business. Breen studies period advertisements to aid in identifying the specific goods that were impacting lives of individuals.

Adam Smith, in “*The Wealth of Nations*, portrays ‘man as a social animal’ and defines his ‘necessaries’ by that of his neighbor; ‘whether the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without’” (qtd in Martin, 1993, in a, p. 141). Today we may speak of “keeping up with the Joneses.” But

the concept is the same in that we define what objects are necessary by what society tell us.

... John Adams was one of the few contemporaries that articulated both the cause and effect of these social measures. He explained carefully that when a man sees another man he considers his equal with a 'better coat or hat, a better house or horse, than himself, and sees his neighbors are struck with it, talk of it, and respect him for it...he cannot bear it; he must and will be upon a level with him.' It was not the hat that cased the desire. It was the attention which that hat drew, and the respect it endowed upon its wearer. Adams saw this tendency in the microcosm in 'every neighborhood, in every family; among artisans, husbandmen, [and] laborers.' But such behavior has a ratchet effect, for 'those who claim or aspire to the highest ranks of life, will eternally go to a certain degree above those below.' Thus, dress, furniture, and furnishings all rise in the higher ranks in exact proportion to what it does in the lowest rungs of the social ladder (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 142).

Materialism places an individual in a social realm. However, the level of the realm varies as the context changes. Where did the merchant Traugott Bagge fit with the social realm of Salem? And what was his place in society when traveling to Charleston or Philadelphia, or the courts in Salisbury? Bishir recognizes that the gentry of North Carolina were not as wealthy or as abundant as the gentry of some other colonies. As many of this elite class were first generation, and were surrounded by many small farmers, it created an environment very different from other colonies.

Visitors consistently remarked on the informality of the gentry's style of life the 'excesses of freedom and familiarity' the common folk displayed toward them...In contrast to elites who maintain power and social distance by displaying it, North Carolina's wary gentry retained rank by downplaying it, eschewing ostentation (Bishir, 1990, in a, p. 50-51)...

The Moravians of Salem further this view of the Carolina backcountry, as many were from aristocratic families in Europe, who often dropped the titles from their names. But “...unlike most of the thousands of individual families and family groups across the piedmont, the Moravians had a long-range plan, reliable sponsorship, and a strong government that directed individual efforts toward well-defined common goals”(Bishir, 1990, in a, p. 113). Community dairies were utilized to examine how these well-defined common goals may have shaped the business run by Traugott Bagge, and the role that materialism played in the town of Salem.

Society tells us what we consider “necessary,” and through our social connections, our homes tell a lot about who we are and what we value. Through both style and form of a structure we can assess certain meanings that we construct based on our relationships with others. This social aspect of architecture can reveal much about people as individuals and about people in community. Personally, we carry cultural influences of our own past with us, and often make subconscious decisions based on that culture without even being aware. We also decide what is important by how space in our homes is allotted. Decisions of space and location are indicators for how we relate to family and to outsiders. Those spatial relationships that reflect social arrangements, apply to both interior and exterior contexts.

The demonstration that all space is *constructed* was a central concern of Henri Lefebvre, who argued that all societies ‘produce’ their own versions of space. The arrangement of cities, the forms of the built environment, the relation of town and country, he showed, in an argument now fundamental to most geographical and sociological theory, all express a particular vision of the world, an ideology. The ideology of space is inescapable: we encounter it the moments we emerge from our front door, drive to the out of town shopping centre or visit the local post

office. In the built environment social relations are inscribed concretely in space. All ideologies ‘project themselves into a space itself’ (Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 129)...’Thus does the symbolic order of a city’s spaces impose upon us ways of thinking and doing which reinforce existing patterns of social life’ (D. Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, 250) (qtd. Gorringer, 2002, p. 27).

It was informative to determine a symbolic order to the buildings in Salem, and to the spaces within these buildings and the social patterns indicated by the order of such spaces.

In the larger context of a town the proximity and location of one building to another determines the town arrangement. Moving to the large contextual concept of a region, a town is determined by the surrounding rural villages. A town says Braudel, “only exists in relation to a form of life lower than its own.”

There are no exceptions to this rule... No privilege serves as a substitute. There is no town, no townlet without its villages, its scrap of rural life attached; no town that does not supply its hinterland with the amenities of the market; the use of its shops, its weights and measures, its moneylenders, its lawyers, even its distractions. It has to dominate an empire, however tiny, in order to exist (Braudel, 1981, p. 481).

Salem as a town was part of the larger Wachovia tract, which included other Moravian “country congregations,” as they were called. The central location of Salem in Wachovia was not accidental, but planned to be the center of the Moravian lands, spiritually, economically, as well as geographically. Salem was properly considered a town and supported, and was supported by, the surrounding villages of Bethabara, Bethania, Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope.

In the Hebrew bible villages are called, delightfully, the ‘daughters’ of their cities. The relationship between town and village was never one way, however...the towns urbanized their countryside, but the countryside “ruralized” the towns too.’...The town has historically provided a centre of trade, recreation, defense, religion and administration. In the town the division of labor is greater than in the village...’every town, wherever it may be, must primarily be a market. Without a market, a town is inconceivable’ (Gorringer, 2002, p. 128-9).

Salem was a market since its conception. As explained by Marshall in the original plans for Salem: “This town is not designed for farmers but for those with trades...” (v. 1, 313). The town thus became the social nucleus of an area by providing economic, governmental, and recreational activities that drew people from outside. Interactions between people, or lack thereof, helped define the social aspects of a community.

Social aspects of architecture as evidenced through personalities and relationships can have significant impact on a community. Tolbert (1999) examines the “spatial and architectural change in four county seats of the Nashville Basin during the first half of the nineteenth century” (p. 4). Through primary documents—maps, town plans, town histories, letters, building plans, public buildings, newspapers, period accounts, and period image, she analyses the social relationships of the townspeople and how they affected town layout by their use of space. According to her thesis, architecture and town planning are not randomly determined but are intricately intertwined with social relationships. “These relationships are best understood by focusing on the material world—the architectural fabric—of the small town and by studying the social interactions within that world” (Tolbert, 1999, p. 5). Map, artists; images, letters and community diaries were valuable for this aspect of research; as this viewpoint supplied a valuable

perspective through which to examine social history in understanding community dynamics, and afforded a way to study the architecture and town planning of Salem and what it revealed about social relationships.

Religious

As a theocratic community established by the Moravian church, Salem was guided and directed by the principles of that congregation. On September 13, 1780, a letter was issued from the Unity's Elders Conference at Barby, to all Moravian congregations. This letter laid out basic principles which were to guide the Moravians, not only in their faith, but in their daily lives. Even work and business were guided by the church. It was encouraged that,

...each would seek to have this spirit:...I will be faithful in my present calling, and will do the work expected of me with industry and loyalty; in food and drink I will be content with what is necessary, and not accustom myself to luxury; I will not use my salary for clothing which does not suit my origin and education, but will keep myself in accordance with my condition in life... (v. 4, 1495).

These church guidelines established the expectations of her members in regards to lifestyle and consumerism. These decisions are evidence of the religious impact on consumerism.

Humans are mammals which on the most basic level require shelter to survive. But throughout history of habitation, shelter has always been more than the most basic requirements of protection against weather and intruders. Humans have enriched even their earliest domiciles with something that was more, "so that the built environment has

become perhaps the most important lived dimension of art and culture” (Gorringer, 2002, p. 79). As a theocratic, closed congregation town, Salem’s culture was by definition shaped by her religious nature. Any study of Moravian life and history must include religion. In reading the daily accounts of their lives, their faith was ever present and fully integrated into their lives. It seems only appropriate that this discussion of architecture, material culture, and commerce of the eighteenth century Moravians should be examined through a lens of religious thought. In the same way that the discipline of material culture makes it possible to make observations about priorities and cultural influence by examining an object, Gorringer believes that it is through the built environment that we can make observations about architectural decisions made from value judgments based on religion or theology.

...what is called for is a theological reading of the built environment...Like teleological ethics, it will raise the question of the purpose of our building and planning; it will always ask about context, and to this extent resemble situation ethics...in all cases it will be concerned with the ways in which the built environment furthers human virtue or destroys it (Gorringer, 2002, p. 2).

Other scholars throughout time have also considered architecture similarly. Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, the first century BC Roman engineer and architect, based his scale of architecture on the proportions of the human body, as presented in his *Ten Books of Architecture*. This humanist approach to architecture was the basic building block of classical architecture, to resurface in the Renaissance, and to continue even into the twenty-first century. “For Vitruvius, in fact, we become human only *as* we build” (Gorringer, 2002, p. 3).

Much thought has considered the concept of space and place and how they relate to the built environment. “In 1966 the architect Denys Lasdun noted that ‘the important thing about buildings of the past is the character that they give a place...without a sense of place there can be no sense of belonging’”(Dillistone, 1973, p. 850). This sense of place has been at the centre of much of the discussion of space in the past thirty years. Walter Bruggemann in *The Land* makes a fundamental distinction between space, which we use as a category, and ‘place’.

Place is space which has historical meanings, in which important words have been spoken which have established identity, defined vocation, envisioned destiny...Place is indeed a protest against the unpromising pursuit of space. It is a declaration that our humanness cannot be found in escape, detachment, absence of commitment and undefined freedom (qtd. in Gorringer, 2002, p. 38).

Space reveals historical and religious meanings. Bruggemann continues: “In Scripture ‘there is no timeless space but there is also no spaceless time. There is rather storied place, that is a place which has meaning because of the history lodged there. There are stories which have authority because they are located in a place’ (qtd. in Gorringer, 2002, p. 38). The “storied place” of the Salem Store is rich in meaning waiting to be fully analyzed.

Quite independently, Christian Norberg-Schultz mounted a similar argument...For him the purpose of architecture is to create ‘dwelling’. Human beings ‘dwell’ when they experience the environment as meaningful, and this happens when spaces become places. A place is a space which has a distinct character...Stripped of the fancy rhetoric what all this means is that people en-story and en-soul their places and then, in the course of the dialectic of material life, their places en-soul them’ (Gorringer, 2002, p. 38).

Beyond the individual structure we see the same system of values that guide decisions regarding communities. It has been stated that Salem, North Carolina, was perhaps one of the most thoroughly planned American towns of the eighteenth century. Considerable time was spent in the town's location and arrangement. Several plans were drawn up to determine the ideal nature of Salem. These decisions were based on practical as well as aesthetic considerations. Gorringer (2002) informs us that, "People ensoul not only their houses but the settlements in which they dwell. At the same time their settlements shape their souls...In terms of the built environment this means that the primacy is with the community rather than the place" (p. 216). He notes that "Aquinas, when turning his mind to the city, noted that there are two aspects of the work of God in the world, creation and governance, and invited rulers and planners to an analogous practice" (Gorringer, 2002, p. 6):

'One who is about to establish a city or realm must, in the first place, choose a suitable site: healthy, to ensure the health of the inhabitants; fertile to provide for their sustenance; one which will delight the eye with its loveliness and give natural security against hostile attack...Having chosen the site, the next task which confronts the founder of a city or a kingdom is to plan the area to meet all the requirements of civic life...one must decide where to build towns and where to leave the countryside open or to construct fortifications: centres of study, open places for military training, and markets, all have to be taken into consideration: otherwise neither city nor kingdom would love endure attack' (qtd Gorringer, 2002, p. 6).

Using these concepts of space and place, of city planning, to analyze the town of Salem we gain a fuller understanding behind the intentions and values that shaped the town.

During this time of social unrest in America,

...the very notion of the way men should live was changing. With increasing secularization, the way one lived was no longer God-ordained; with the failure of sumptuary laws, it was no longer state-ordained. The way a man furnished his house or dressed his wife was socially ordained. A greater intellectual movement toward individuality meant that some broke with traditional measures of 'how one should live' and chose new material objects to express their prosperity. Others were not so much keeping up the elite, as their peers (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 142).

This context of social value has turned into an understanding of how and what we do as reflected in religious undertones, because we are no longer only speaking about our relationships between men but between man and God.

In Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vice, Public Benefits*, "he questioned the common precept that what is good for the economy of the individual or family was good for the nation. It was the suggestion that luxury, pride, and envy, behavior universally decried by society as immoral, was essentially beneficial for the society as a whole. Mandeville wrote of a buzzing hive of bees, where

'Luxury Employ'd a million of the poor
And odious pride a million more
Envy itself, and vanity
Were ministers of industry
Their darling folly, ficklenes
In diet, furniture and dress
That strange ridic'lous vice, was made
The very Wheel that turn'd the trade' (qtd. Martin, 1993, in a, p.
149).

Buzzing bees, swarming around a hive are the image used for the reproduction sign which hangs outside the Salem store. (Fig. II-5) It is not known what sign actually hung to denote the retail business run by Traugott Bagge, but the beehive image was an eighteenth century symbol of industry, perhaps it was also a symbol of this private vice.



Figure II-5. Reproduction sign for Salem Store. Photo L. Culler.

It was the removal of the stigma of immorality from luxury that was so obnoxious to the eighteenth century mind, and several thousand howls of protest are reported to have swelled in the press. Contemporaries spoke of 500 pamphlets on the subject in the 1760s alone....Mandeville's critics had to find a way to allow for the liberal spending of the wealthy (an economic necessity), but leave the framework for moral rules. The most common solution to the dilemma was to allow 'beneficial luxury,' but to specially attack spending above one's means. This allowed the wealthy to continue turning the wheels of the domestic economy, but brought back spending within the bounds of the moral concepts of frugality for the mass of society (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 150-151).

In the discussion of material culture, luxury was mentioned as a measure of its rarity or availability. Were the wares sold in the store in Salem considered luxuries or necessities? Here we discuss luxuries as they are indicators of religious value systems.

... the very notions of luxury underwent a thorough transformation. First can be seen the essential Christian concept that all luxuries are immoral, then the thoroughly pragmatic notion that only foreign luxuries are so. When the benefits of luxury consumption to the economy were understood, luxury consumption among the rich became acceptable. Finally, the moral opprobrium against luxury is, in itself, removed (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 151).

Martin provides a glimpse into this world to better analyze the residents of Salem, and understand their views of materialism as viewed through religious principles.

Community diaries and church doctrines provided this research with insight to the Moravians' view of luxury.

There are many questions to consider and many primary documents to study to begin to understand the nature of the community store in Salem, as seen through the lenses of Cultural Geography, Material Culture and Cultural History. Many scholarly precedents have provided the focus and the perspective to consider this topic. These observations have brought clarity to the study of the Store architecture, and the Store's relationship to its context and other buildings. They have aided in teasing out the material culture of goods and products and understanding their role in connecting Salem with the outside world. These insights have identified the Store's link between commerce, politics, society and religion. And these viewpoints have helped see the role of the merchant Traugott Bagge as one of much value to Salem and the surrounding backcountry. Through these understandings, it is the goal of this thesis is to provide the

meaning and authority of retail in Salem, by re-telling the stories that bring this place to life.

CHAPTER III

CONTEXT

To grasp the significance of the Store to the community of Salem, it is necessary to have an understanding of the larger context in which it operated. Later in this thesis, Stewart Brand's concept of layers is employed to dissect the Store building for analysis. His concept examines structure in layers-Site, Structure, Skin, Services, Space Plan, and Stuff. Taking his layering concept which focuses inward, the researcher has added four layers and turned them outward to study the layers that provide context for the Store. Starting at the outermost layer, those layers are identified: World, Country, Region, and Community.

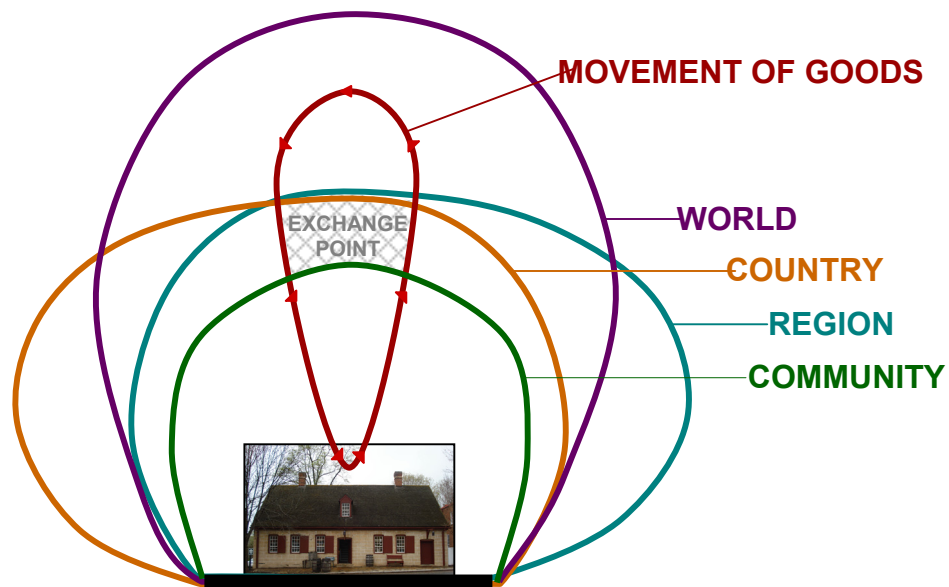


Figure III-1. Diagram of Contextual Layers. L. Culler.

By understanding that the Store was affected by these larger contextual layers, it helps better understand the Store itself, because a place is shaped by its social, cultural, and physical context. Salem was founded by the Moravian Church in 1766, to be a town of commerce in the backcountry of the colonial South. This community, surrounded by wilderness, was an oasis of industry and commerce for nearly a century.

WORLD-The Salem Store's Worldwide Connection through the Moravian Church

Spices have for centuries been a commodity of great desire. At least dating to the Venetians of the eleventh century, the spice trade between Europe and the east was a major impetus for trade (Heilbroner and Singer, 1999, p. 20). Greed and desire brought about major land acquisitions, increased trade routes, and propelled the mercantile class into a realm of wealth and control (Heilbroner and Singer, 1999, p. 20, 3).

Mercantilism was a

...kind of way station en route to capitalism, but also because it is a way en route to the explanations of capitalism we call *economics* [author's emphasis]...As Thomas Mun, a director of the East India Company stated in 1630 in his England's *Treasure by Forraign Trade*,: 'The ordinary means to encrease our wealth and treasure is by *forraign trade*, wherein wee must ever observe this rule, to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value'(Heilbroner and Singer, 1999, p. 25).

"We can hardly fail to be struck by the naiveté of this early mercantilist economics, for clearly *every* nation cannot sell more than it buys" (Heilbroner and Singer, 1999, p. 25). While every country was trying to sell more to other countries than was being consumed from those countries, it created an atmosphere in which nations were

conducting business with more and more distant ports. As trade developed with these Eastern ports, "...the trading companies became the spearheads of *colonies*—territorial extensions abroad of English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and other national sovereignties" (Heilbroner and Singer, 1999, p. 25). This set in motion the importance of trade on a worldwide level, which was to link the Salem store in a chain of international trade.

The members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, commonly called the Moravian Church, were by the middle of the eighteenth century, spread all over the world, with congregations in: Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Russia, Great Britain, America, South America, The West and East Indies, Greenland, Coast of Labrador, and a beginning in Egypt (v. 3, p. 980-991). This provided a worldwide context for the small backcountry town of Salem through their existing connections with the church, and established a network by which trade could be furthered. In a world when communications were solely by letter sent by the next person traveling in that general direction, it took months and sometimes years for news to reach its destination. Moravians established a system of circulating news with one another through church newsletters or *Gemein Nachrichten*. Copies were sent to the administrative center in Herrnhut, Germany, and distributed to eventually reach the congregations in far-flung corners of the world. Through these newsletters, the Salem Moravians kept abreast of international events, in a way that was probably most unusual for the time. It was also through these international contacts that Traugott Bagge, the Salem merchant, had direct business contacts in England and Germany, which was uncommon for a backcountry merchant.

COUNTRY-*The Salem Store Trade Conducted Outside the Region, Primarily with Pennsylvania*

American settlements were established to create products for trade, as well as for reasons of religious freedom. In the northern colonies, religious freedom was the attraction for settlers and Pennsylvania became an area of rapid increase in population. The Moravian church settled in that colony in 1741 in Bethlehem and Philadelphia. Obviously the importance of Philadelphia as a city of trade provided the Moravians with personal and economic connections. But the distance was great, and travel still difficult over the Great Wagon Road, such that during the War, Pennsylvania was not a primary location for trade with the Salem Moravians. However, after the Peace Treaty was signed, this changed. According to a 1787 first -person account, there were many ships sailing from North Carolina ports to the North in 1787. “The same year, it was said, the merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and New England were competing keenly for the trade of New Bern” (Crittenden, 1935, p. 158). More trade from Salem was sent north after the War. For Br. Bagge, however, the main focus of trade was much further south.

REGION-*The Salem Store’s Connection to the Backcountry and Southern Coastal Regions*

In the Southern colonies, Charleston, South Carolina, developed early as center of trade. Once the market economy created the desire for imported goods, colonists recognized that their farming efforts could be used for more than just supplying the needs of one’s family, they could “provide *cash incomes*, by being exported, mainly to an eager

market in England” (Heilbroner, and Singer, 1999, p. 38). Merchants like Bagge were the crucial link in this exchange.

The Revolutionary War disrupted trade in most areas. Following the war for Independence, once North Carolina’s economy had begun to stabilize and trade was re-established on a more regular basis, trade began making a rapid recovery. The type of primary exports remained basically the same: naval stores, provisions, lumber, and tobacco. However, before the Revolutionary War, these products were being shipped mostly to Great Britain, and now they were being shipped to northern states. Secondary exports from North Carolina were also basically the same categories as in colonial times: furs, hides, flax seed, livestock, myrtle wax, and beeswax. There was an increase in the export of provisions, lumber, and tobacco from North Carolina, which before the war were being primarily shipped to the West Indies, and after, to the northern states. After the war, the export of tobacco represented the largest increase in any export category. Of the enormous increase in tobacco exports, about half was being shipped to Great Britain and the rest to other American ports; where during the colonial period, almost all tobacco was sent to England (Crittenden, 1936, p. 160-2).

Exports items remained basically the same before and after the War, except for quantities, and destination. The northern part of the backcountry traded primarily with Virginia, while the southern counties sent products primarily to Charleston, with in increase in wagons traveling also to Pennsylvania. This was true for exports leaving Salem for market. Items of manufactured goods imported also changed little:

In 1786, Courtney and Watts advertised for sale such articles as superfine broadcloths, coarse broadcloths, Negro cotton, saddle cloths, and wine decanters. In 1789 Samuel Murley of Fayetteville offered for sale Jamaica spirits, New England rum, wine sugar coffee, molasses, London-bottled porter, checks, stripes, oznabrigs, and sheetings; and Peter Perry, another merchant of the same town, advertised that he had in stock rum, molasses, gin, wine, iron, steel, salt, tea, coffee, chocolate, and dry goods of various kinds (Crittenden, 1936, p. 164-5).

Although the backcountry and coastal area were very different in terms of trade, the southern coastal areas were the primary trade arena for Salem, and provided the contact location where exports were exchanged for imports. This point of exchange or nexus of trade is a crucial turn-around point for trade transactions. Charleston, South Carolina and Cross Creek, [Fayetteville] North Carolina were the two primary points of exchange for the Moravians in Salem, varying on the time period.

Salem in the eighteenth century was considered part of the backcountry, an interior area in North Carolina, in the Piedmont, or foothills, which included the

...region back of the coastal settlement; generally west of the fall line (The fall line runs southwest from the rapids nearest the mouth of the Roanoke River where the present town of Roanoke Rapids is located), passes a few miles east of the city of Raleigh, and extends on to the head of navigation of the Cape Fear River (the site of the town of Fayetteville—formerly Cross Creek) (Crittenden, 1936, p. 85).

This region consists of rolling hills between the fall line and the Blue Ridge Mountains. When discussing trade, architecture, or most any aspect of life during this time period, the backcountry was very different from coastal North Carolina. There are very few records which pertain to this area specifically as it relates to business, backcountry merchants were few and often there were no newspapers printed in this area. In the words of Crittenden, “Were it not for the vivid and entertaining records of that little

group of Moravians who soon after 1750 settled in the area, there would be only the most scattered bits of information” (Crittenden, 1936, p. 85) as it relates to backcountry markets.

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the piedmont rapidly changed from wilderness to settlement, as tens of thousands of settlers poured in. Because this area was still very young and towns were small, one of the major problems for the settlers newly arriving was finding markets.

Salisbury in 1755 had just been laid out, and consisted of only a courthouse and seven or eight log buildings; and, in spite of the fact that it grew during the next two decades, was of little importance before the Revolution. Charlotte about 1771 was only ‘an inconsiderable place, and in England would not be thought deserving of even the name of a village...’ But these, together with the Moravian village, Salem, and a few other cross-roads settlements, were the only towns in the entire backcountry. None was sufficiently populous to contain a large group of merchants engaged in competition buying and selling; in all of them, consequently, prices of native products tended to be low, and of imported goods, high (Crittenden, 1936, p. 86).

There were further obstacles for the settlers who wished to trade with the outside world—streams in the backcountry were not navigable, and carriage over land was slow and expensive. The closest outlet was the Cape Fear River which was navigable for almost 150 miles above Wilmington, putting it at the edge of the piedmont; but before 1765, the Cape Fear was not used frequently because there were no good markets, the road conditions were bad, and those roads that did exist were primarily for local purposes and not direct trade routes. North Carolina rivers flow from the northwest to the southeast, therefore they did not directly link the backcountry to the coastal east-west trade, and there were not good markets in Edenton, New Bern or other North Carolina

coastal towns; only occasionally are references made to trade in the Albemarle Sound region or New Bern. Due to these obstacles, the backcountry largely traded with other regions. Charles Town became a primary market for areas of the back country because the valleys of the Yadkin and Catawba, as well as other roads lead trade their direction. This greater convenience was strengthened by the fact that Charleston tended to pay more for products, offered a broader variety of manufactured goods, and also extended "liberal terms" (Crittenden, 1936, p. 88) of credit.

Crittenden (1936) explains the role of the merchant in the backcountry:

The position of the storekeeper in the piedmont was not the same as in the East. In the latter region a large proportion of the merchants were in the towns, and were in competition with each other. In the backcountry, however, where frequently there was only one store within a radius of many miles, the merchant usually was able to maintain a monopoly of the trade of his customers. The average frontier farmer could not conveniently carry his surplus products to Charles Town, Cross Creek, or some other distant market, but rather, if he were going to dispose of them at all, had to sell them to the local merchant. Likewise the farmer was forced to purchase at the country store the goods he needed. To the merchant, then, fell the task of assembling products for exportation and of importing commodities which were in demand. He it was who maintained community contacts with the outside world. Within limits he could fix local prices, and was able to exert a powerful influence over the economic life of his community (p. 88-9).

This describes the job which fell to the Salem merchant, Traugott Bagge. Products were being received as payment for purchases, these products were then processed and carried by wagon to purchase manufactured articles and imported products to bring back to Salem for retail, thus completing a cycle of products in and out of the local store.

The economic environment of the backcountry was such that there was less wealth and less ready cash available. It is believed that the farmers of the area then, had

less purchasing power, and probably were purchasing fewer luxuries than what was available in the eastern coastal regions. Scarcity of currency meant that articles were often purchased using country produce. This was not barter in the true sense, because due to the scarcity of currency, a list of commodities was established that were given specific values. These commodities often became the primary means of purchase, and were equivalent to currency. Commodities may have been a more stable source of payment for the merchant to receive, because the value was less volatile than the ever-fluctuating exchange rate of currency. These commodities were processed by the storekeeper, and, along with currency, were exchanged for imported goods to bring back for the retail market (Crittenden, 1936, p. 89). Although the value of products was constantly in flux, values for commodities were established for use in Wachovia in 1756. (Appendix C-Charts; 1756 Value of Commodities).

“Much light is thrown on the state of trade in the backcountry by a study of the activities of the Moravians. Thrifty and enterprising, these people...did not allow their religious zeal to prevent their engaging extensively in commercial venture” (Crittenden, 1936, p. 90-1). The situation with the Moravians was fairly unusual--not only did their religious zeal not prevent them from engaging in commercial ventures, but the community store in Salem was actually owned by the church and it was for church work that its profits were designated. Indeed, one of the reasons for settling in North Carolina was to establish commerce which would aid the declining financial assets of the larger Moravian church.

Years before construction had even begun for Salem, when trade was being developed at Bethabara, Spangenberg made the following recommendation:

It is of course advisable to purchase a couple of acres of land in Willmington as a store site. For we would not be obliged to build upon it immediately but could wait until we would find it convenient for us to do. But whether we should undertake to purchase 500 to 600 acres of land in Cape Fear, that I do not know. Of course, if it were only a couple of acres land (Spangenberg Memorandum)!

There is no indication that the Moravians ever acted on this suggestion, and no further insight as to whether this might have been intended as a warehouse for product. But this does suggest the extent they were planning ways to maximize trade revenues, even before Salem was established.

Traugott Bagge explored conducting business with Pinetree, South Carolina; Petersburg, Virginia; and occasionally traded with Moravian communities in Pennsylvania, and with North Carolina communities—Salisbury, Edenton, and New Bern (Crittenden, 1936, p. 91-2). But none of these proved to be successful locations for conducting steady trade. Agents from the Cape Fear area tried to encourage business with the Moravians early on, but to no avail. However, a primary trade location had been established between Bethabara and Charleston, South Carolina even before Br. Bagge arrived in Wachovia. Bagge continued business with Charleston for the twenty-eight years he was merchant in Salem. Businessmen in the Cape Fear River area tried for many years to encourage trade with Salem, but travel was difficult and goods were not available like they were in Charleston. But the trade with Charleston did decline

somewhat when Cross Creek (Fayetteville) began to boom with greater variety of goods offered, better prices, and improvement in roads (Crittenden, 1936, p. 94).

COMMUNITY – *The Salem Store's Context in Wachovia*

Salem and Wachovia, as community, are treated as one tier of the layers of context, for many of the business decisions in Salem involved other nearby Moravian communities. Wachovia was the larger property owned by the Moravian church in the North Carolina backcountry. At the time Salem was first built, in Wachovia there were the country congregations of Bethabara and Bethania. For many years, the stores in Bethabara and Salem were operated as one unit, over which T. Bagge was in charge.

Before the first tree was felled, several maps were created to determine the best layout for the new town of Salem. The Square, being the central focus of the town evolved through several considerations before reaching its final size, shape and location; this evolution includes the original plan of the town designed by Zinzendorf, based on a Vitruvian radial design. (Fig. II-1) This elegant and ambitious plan placed the church at the spiritual and geographic center of the town, surrounded by eight avenues radiating from the center. Zinzendorf's vision for the town was sent to Bethabara in 1755 or 1756, before the actual location of Salem had been determined. After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, and once the location was selected by Lot, in 1765, it was determined by the surveyor Reuter and the administrator, Marshall, that Zinzendorf's plan for a utopia in North Carolina, did not fit the topography of the land, and a grid plan was adopted (Hodgson, 1990, p. 24-37). In that July 1765, Marshall made suggestions for the new



Figure III-2. "Wachovia or Dobbs Parish." February 1766. Christian Gottlieb Reuter. Moravian Archives-Herrnhut, Germany. TS Mp. 211.5.

Congregation town in the center of Wachovia. Salem operated as a closed congregation town. The residents of the town were approved members of the Moravian Church, or *Unitas Fratrum* which traces its roots to fifteenth century Moravia and Bohemia, now the Czech Republic. At the time of settlement of Salem, the center of the church was in Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany. After the Church purchased 98,985 acres of land from Lord Granville, selected men were sent to settle this North Carolina tract they named “Wachovia,” after an ancestral estate in Austria. (Fig.III-2) The town of Bethabara (Fig.III-3) was the first North Carolina community established and from this base the

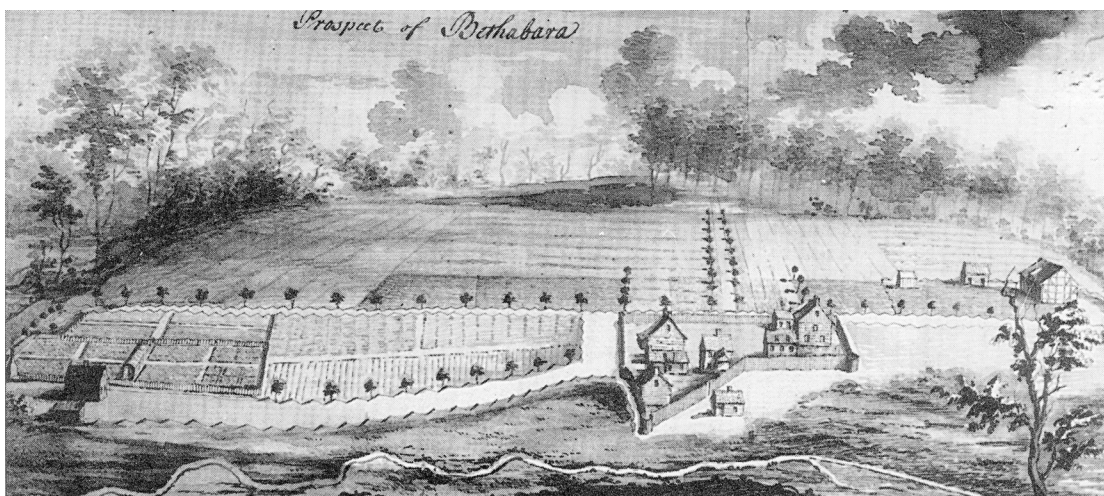


Figure III-3. Bethabara. Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

town of Salem was constructed. The Moravians, well educated and organized, spent much time planning the town of Salem which was to be located centrally in Wachovia. The lot designated for the Community Store appears on the earliest town planning maps indicated that it was to be an important aspect of the town. Construction for the town

began in 1766. Six years later enough building had been completed that most of the population of Bethabara moved to Salem.

The present building of Salem is an extraordinary affair, which I would not have undertaken had not the Saviour Himself ordered it. I verily believe that the rich city of London could not do that which we must accomplish,--move the entire town and its businesses to another place (v. 1, p. 618).

During this early period the store business was operated from the building referred to as the Two-Story House. Sometime before 1774 plans were discussed for the store building to be constructed on the original site designated for the business. After several configurations were considered, the final plans, which were designed by Bagge, were approved. Construction began later that year, being completed in May 1775.

Salem from its earliest inception was planned to be a commercial center to the North Carolina back country. This plan was based on a balanced collection of trades shops, with the Salem store as the main site of enterprise, selling goods at retail to town residents and “outsiders.” In addition to supplying customers with basic goods, and a few luxuries, the store also provided a source of income for the Moravian Church. In Salem, there were five businesses or “branches” which were owned by the local church—the tavern, mill, tanyard, pottery and store—each being operated by a manager or master, appointed by the church. T. Bagge, who we have come today to associate with this building, was not the proprietor, but the man who first managed this business for the church. This perhaps makes this store unique in the Southern colonies—it was a Congregational *Diaconie*, or business, with profits going to the church coffers. Salem operated as a theocracy, ruled by four governing boards—the *Aeltesten Conferenz* (Elders’

Conference), the *Helper Conferenz* (Helpers' Conference), the *Gemein Rath* (Congregation Council), and the *Aufseher Collegium* (Board of Supervisors). It was the *Aufseher Collegium* that was charged with the material and financial matters of the town, and governed the trades and *Diaconies*, or businesses, in town (Niven and Wright, 2002).

In 1780 Bagge signed an agreement with the Salem Diacony which laid out the church's expectations of him in his job:

Agreement with Traugott Bagge
May 1, 1780

On the first of May 1780 is made the following agreement between Friedrich Marschall and Johann Herbst in the name of the Salem Gemein-Diacony, on the one part, and Traugott Bagge concerning the merchant's store in Salem, which the same has undertaken to run for the benefit of said Diacony, on the other part.

1. The said Traugott Bagge, as first person and merchant, undertakes to run the store entrusted to him, with all its goods according to an Inventory of today's date, for the benefit of the said Diacony with all faithfulness and care to the best of his knowledge and ability, and with good conscience will seek to produce for them profits which may be gained in this, as he is answerable before God and man for this. He binds himself to be modest in manners to his customers and to serve them with good wares for a fair price, without offer and counter-offer [haggling], or to sell to one more dearly than to another, to contract no excessive debts, and if debts are contracted, not to avoid them, and in this regard to maintain a cordial connection with whoever is Vorsteher [business manager or steward] at the time, and at all times, as much as possible, not to let outstanding debts pile up, but rather to recover them in timely fashion, and to pay the persons under him; and above all to keep accurate books of what the business owes or is owed; and if in the business there may be a reserve of money which is not to be used right away, to give it to the current Vorsteher, to receive it again at a stated time if the business cannot forgo it.

2. The said Traugott Bagge will conduct no private business in addition to this which is entrusted to him, or carry on a portion of this business for his private use, but will devote all revenues to this his chief calling.

3. On their part, Friedrich Marschall and Johann Herbst promise that the Diacony will support and assist this business, particularly at the time for purchases to be made, to the best of their ability and to increase the business as is fitting.

4. For the trouble he has taken in this business, Traugott Bagge shall receive yearly 100 Pounds good money, North Carolina currency, as a salary from the proceeds of the same, and if, after deduction of the salary, house rent, interested on the stock at 5 percent, salaries for the servants, travel costs, and transport charges, and other outlays in connection with this business, however they may be named, through God's blessings a small profit comes from this, then Traugott Bagge shall have the enjoyment of 10 percent of the clear profit as a gratuity from this business. In addition, he has his dwelling place for free.

5. At the end of each year [fiscal year, ending each April 30] the Inventory shall be gone through again and the accounts be closed so that one can see what profit or loss has occurred.

In witness of which, this contract is signed and executed on the above date on the part of both parties and in the presence of witnesses.

Test.

Jacob Bonn

Samuel Stotz

(Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem).

Traugott Bagge {Seal}

(This document is included here in its entirety because it sheds much light on the work of Br. Bagge and because it was translated by Dr. Daniel Crews-Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, for this thesis). A similar agreement was made with the managers of the other branch businesses. Bagge's salary was 100 Pounds a year, plus ten percent of the annual profit, "In addition, he has his dwelling place for free."

Bagge had the opportunity to set in motion the retail business which would become the heart of the Salem commercial center. Few people have had such an opportunity to begin a business in a town with such a beginning of promise. The first location, from which Br. Bagge operated the store, was a temporary location, which provided a retail presence while the Store building was planned and constructed. By 1775, the permanent Store building was completed, and Bagge and his family moved in on May 8. But the business environment, although promising, was at that point, far from

ideal. This commercial venture was beginning to take hold when the seeds of revolution burst into full bloom. The War years created a decline in trade for most areas; for Salem, although the conditions made commerce difficult, trade remained strong. James describes how this seeming prosperity was an asset and a curse for the Moravians:

In Salem as nowhere else there already existed an embryo of the new industrial order, a way of thinking common to the late nineteenth century but altogether rare during the colonial and Revolutionary era. In an almost unimaginably brief space of time these Moravian tradesmen had created a sophisticated economy and social system highly dependent on balanced budgets, expert craftsmanship, efficient marketing, and far-flung trade routes, a society that for all the reasons and perhaps others was exceedingly vulnerable to the crosscurrents of revolution. It seems almost too obvious to say—and yet it is necessary to say—that prosperity had become in many ways their most deadly enemy. ‘To Salem’ became the cry of every pressman or captain-of-the-day bent on procuring beef or brandy for his militia unit and of every liberty man or backwoods peddler anxious to dump his rapidly depreciating paper currency. Many of these people bought all they could, stole some more, and then murmured that the Moravians must be secretly in league with Great Britain and ‘must be getting goods from there’ If not, why did they seem so prosperous when everybody else was in the throes of want (James, 1976, p. 41)?

In Salem, tradesmen produced wares for sale in, or next door to, their homes. Their places of business were considered “shops.” The Community Store, however, sold items that had been purchased for retail—items that were, for the most part, not manufactured by the Moravian tradesmen. Therefore, this business was more accurately designated a “store,” distinguishing it from the trade shops in town. Both the store and the shops constituted this trades town which was a commercial center in the Carolina backcountry.

Salem as a commercial center anchored the Moravian settlements in the backcountry of North Carolina. The Salem Store shaped the character of Salem as a

commercial center and served as the central hub of commerce. Salem, being a trades-town, provided for sale various wares from many owner-operated shops. According to the writer in a 1793 newspaper article the trades represented in Salem consisted of :

There are employed in this town [[Salem]],					
White-smiths	2	Tanners	4[[?]]	Sadlers	2
Blacksmiths	2	Skin-dressers	2	Potters	3
Paper-makers	5	Brick-makers	3	Silversmiths	1
Shoemakers	6	Coopers	2	Hatters	4
Tailors, &c.	3	Carpenters	2	Tobacconists &)	
Joiners	1	Gun-smiths	1	Chandlers)	1
Weavers	6	Distillers &)		Dyers	1
Bakers	1	Brewers)	2	Apothecary	1

These are the settled inhabitants, and journey men are occasionally hired. In addition to these, there are several families whose farms are adjoining the town. The principal officers of the Moravian society reside here, and Mr. F. Bagge [[sic]], their merchant, keep perhaps the best assorted country store in the United States. (*The North Carolina Journal*)

While Salem certainly did not compare with the large coastal cities of the time, for a backcountry town, which, the year prior consisted of only a total of 230 residents, this diversity and availability is alarming! Of that total, 67 were under the age of twelve. Leaving only 163 adults and teenagers, who were of working age; 47 of whom were women. These numbers show the industry and level of commercial activity abuzz in Salem. A visitor to town was able to procure many goods, and goods of excellent quality from the shops and the Store.

At locations scattered around the town, private houses were built, each with their own fenced gardens and cluster of outbuildings such as barns, wood sheds, stables, wash and bake houses, necessities, wood sheds. The *Aufseher Collegium* (Board of Supervisors) provided guidelines for the construction of family homes, addressing such

concerns as fire safety, sanitation, type and cost of building materials, placement of house and out buildings, and construction techniques. The connectedness of the community was an important aspect of life within a Moravian town. The needs of the individual were balanced against the needs of the community, just as the designation and need of public and private spaces is balanced within a family home.

The community of Salem provided a visual context for the Store that underscored the German culture of the town, as seen in the 1787 watercolor painting by von Redeken (Fig. III-4) and the 1790 William Loughton Smith word picture that described the community:

...The first view of the town is romantic, just as it breaks upon you through the woods; it is pleasantly seated on rising ground, and is surrounded by beautiful meadows, well cultivated fields, and shady woods. The antique appearance of the houses, built in German style, and the trees among which they are placed have a singular and pleasing effect; the whole resembles a beautiful village, and forms a pastoral scene (Journal of William Loughton Smith).

It is in this environment that we find the building which is the object of this study. And it is within this historical context that it was designed, built, and used. Therefore it is important to understand these outward factors of context that may have shaped the decisions made by those designing, constructing and using the Store building.



Figure III-4. "A View of Salem in N. Carolina. 1787. Ludwig von Redeken. Watercolor. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Wachovia Historical Society.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Any scholar studying the Moravians in North Carolina owes an enormous debt of gratitude to Adelaide L. Fries (1871-1949) for her *magnum opus*--*The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. As Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, from 1911, basically until her death, she is responsible for translating the documents of the residents of Wachovia, from the original German. The enormity of her task is evident if one views any of these original documents. Not only did she translate into English from an old form of German, but she was reading from manuscript, which is difficult to read even if the original is in pristine condition. But to add the age of documents, the bleed-through of ink, and sometimes illegible writing, makes the task that much more laborious. These printed, published volumes in English still provide the ‘words’ of the original authors but in a form much more accessible.

The *Records* consist of a variety of documents: community diaries, travel journals, trade letters, Memorabilia, Minutes of the Church Boards, Account Books, Church Registers, and *Gemein Nachrichten*, and Memoirs. (Fig. IV-1). Because of their great value as a primary resource, the *Records* form the largest part of the textual data for this thesis. These publications, the first of which was printed in 1920, have not to date been digitized for greater accessibility. In order to compile this data, it required flipping page by page, scanning for pertinent information, typing in the text, and arranging data in

a chronological order, to be able to make sense of the thousands of entries. This process was extremely time-consuming, but critical to this researcher's understanding of the topic. Due to the layout of the *Records*, in one calendar year, there are first the community diaries, followed by the minutes of the church boards, which necessitates that

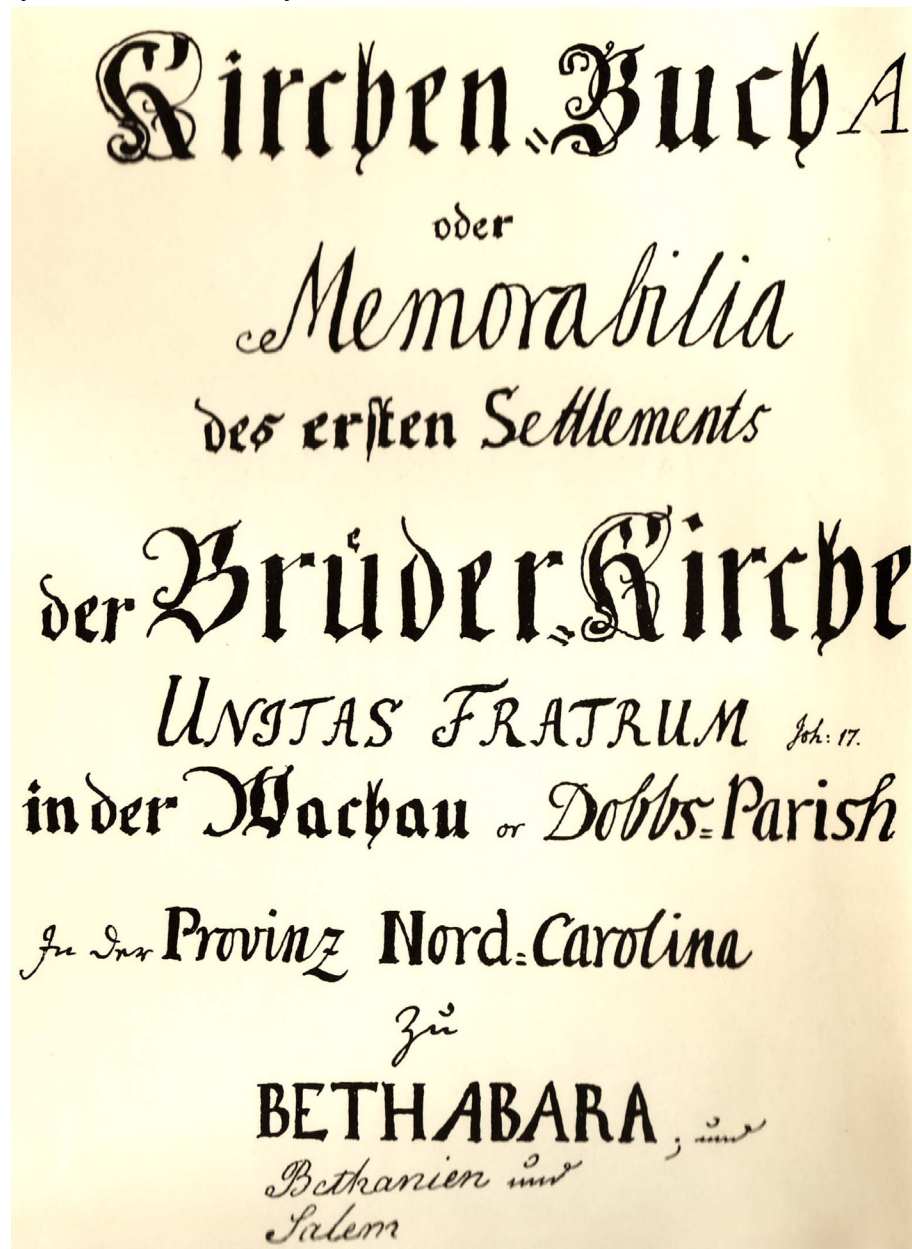


Figure IV-1. Title Page of the First Church Book of Bethabara. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, v. 1, frontispiece. Original in the Moravian Archives-Winston-Salem, NC.

for instance, the entry of May 8, 1775, on page 872, is followed by the entry of February 20 the same year, on page 895. In order to follow the sequence of events, it was critical to compile data in a chronological form, which allowed the dovetailing of the *Record* entries with other pertinent documents, including images, plans, maps, store accounts, ledger entries, trade letters. Applying the methodology employed by Martin by using “scattered bits of evidence [which] can be pieced together to construct a large whole” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 260), these bits of evidence were collected into Timelines to be able to identify patterns, and to understand relationships between entries, all to gain a grasp of the material and thereby construct theories. In order to manage the chronological information in manageable chunks, the Timelines were divided into four categories—1) Architecture, Town Planning; 2) Business; 3) Personal, Family; and 4) Political, Church Government. From the Timelines, information was gleaned to create tables to sort and analyze data into specific topics. Jules Prown’s theory of Object Analysis and Stewart Brand’s 6-S concept were the major methods employed for understanding data.

Prown (2001) presents his system of Object Analysis which is a method by which any object may be dissected through the processes of Description, Deduction, and Speculation. The first process of Description is a capturing of what may be understood through observation of the object in three steps. Substantial Analysis, the first step, is viewing the object, determining its size, shape, construction, and the way the object moves and/ or is assembled. The second step: Content, which deals with symbolism, is useful only for decorative objects or art work. Formal Analysis follows, to investigate character such as texture, light and color to understand the appearance of the object.

Deduction recognizes there is an interaction between the object and the observer, considering the viewer's engagement with the object through Sensory (the experience of seeing, hearing, touching, tasting), Intellectual (contemplating how the object performs and why) and Emotional aspects (does the object elicit feelings of fear, delight, respect). And finally, Speculation involves developing of theses to explain the observations obtained, and applying the theory, which "shifts the inquiry from analysis of internal evidence to the search for and investigation of external evidence" (Prown, 2001, p. 83). Prown's sequencing was followed in data collection, organization of data, analysis, and speculation. (Fig. IV-2) These steps in combination with Brand's layers supplied the methodology for this thesis. Brand's layers were employed as the organizing tool for the analysis.

Stewart Brand uses a "6-S" sequence of layers (Fig. II-5) to identify the different aspects of a structure, and how a building relates to the people who use it. Brand defines those layers that constitute a building:

- **Site**- the geographic setting ;"site is eternal"-Frank Duffy
- **Structure**-the foundation and load bearing layer; "these are the building"
- **Skin**-exterior surfaces; affected by technology and fashion
- **Services**-the "working guts" of a building, which includes electric, HVAC, plumbing, elevators
- **Space Plan**-the interior layout, which includes walls, ceilings, doors
- **Stuff**-the furnishings, furniture, and the items of every day life (Brand, 1994, p. 13)
- ***Souls**-"human souls at the very end of the hierarchy;" "servants to our Stuff" (Brand, 1994, p.17)(*The last layer "Souls" is not included in Brand's primary six layers.)

Brand suggests that a seventh layer may be added to his "6-S" theory of layers-Souls.

This layer, this researcher believes, is necessary in studying a structure; for it is this final

layer that breathes life into a building, even after that building has been “dead” for hundreds of years. It is as the people interact with the building on every level that we better understand the building. For this reason the seventh layer has been included for this project. These layers have been used as the structure guiding the process of analysis.

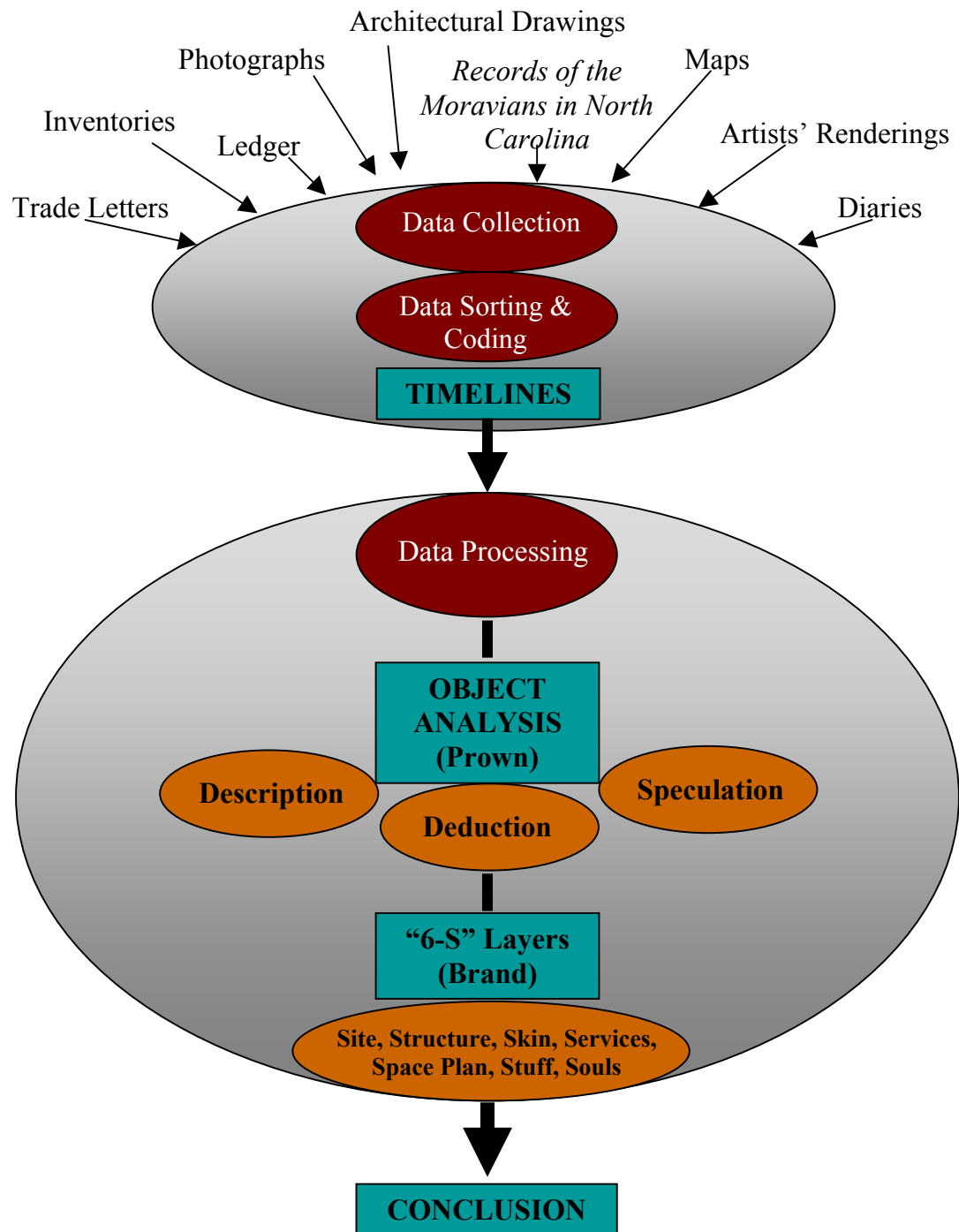


Figure IV-2. Methodology flow chart. L. Culler.

CHAPTER V

DATA/ANALYSIS

DATA

A mammoth portion of the data for this thesis originated from the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. This is an invaluable tool for any research on the Moravians. The textual data gleaned from the *Records*, was subdivided into four categories, and arranged in chronological order; because of the voluminous nature of this textual data, only a sample has been included in this document. With other documents, images and plans, data was compiled to produce a number of charts which serve to merge information into a more usable form. This information is provided in the Appendix; and further details on the specifics of raw data collection are defined in the Methodology chapter. From this gathered and compiled data, the following analysis was determined.

ANALYSIS

This research is a case study of the Salem Store to illuminate the architectural style, function and material culture of the structure and of the contents contained therein. The analysis employed a merge of theories of Prown and Brand. Although the stories of the Store have become all but a whisper, the building that lodged the business and personal lives of Traugott Bagge and his family, does hold countless stories. By coaxing out those stories in this place, it was possible to regain some of the lost meaning and

purpose of this structure. Once we know the people, the mundaneness of their daily activities, their interrelationships, their failures and successes, their joys and sorrows, how they relate to the building and its contents, then can we truly begin to have an understanding of the Store as a living organism.

The following key points were determined through analysis:

The significance of the Store to the community of Salem as evidenced in:

- The siting of the Store in a prominent location
- The stability and permanence of the Store as an indicator of its importance
- The expensive construction of the store building which provided a symbol of status for Bagge as his home and place of business.

The impact of the Store on the community through:

- Bagge's role as merchant
- Link with the outside world through the material culture

The influence of Traugott Bagge as he:

- Moved with ease in circles of aristocrats and commoners
- Served as a link between Salem and beyond through his social and commercial network
- Controlled the circulation of products taken from Salem to market, and goods which were brought from far-flung places to Salem
- Claimed his place of authority in the community
- Challenged the established system and the complete authority of the church
 - through the design of the Store building

- by literally and figuratively pushing the boundaries
- by contributing to “unseemly fashions”

This analysis is ultimately about connections:

- The connections between people in Salem—Bagge family, store staff, Salem residents, and “outsider” customers
- The connections between people in the Salem community and outside
- The connections between people and the material culture of architecture and objects

Stores and markets have for centuries been central to understanding a community. In many ways the Store in Salem was the heart of the town. Like the human heart beating in and out, to circulate blood throughout the entire body, the Salem Store maintained a constant pulse on the community by moving products out of town for markets and bringing wares into town for retail trade. To discern the many and varied aspects of the Store and its function as the heart of Salem, the following analysis dissects the Store layer by layer to reveal each component for a clearer understanding of the Store’s impact on the town.

SITE: *Interaction of the building with the community*

By examining the location of the Store within the community, we learn that the decisions that were made are indicators of the set of priorities and what was deemed important. A study of the *Records*, images both visual and verbal, maps, and “reading the landscape” assisted in understanding this building’s context within the community. By

understanding that, for Salem, the planning of the town was a conscious act of prioritizing the buildings and businesses, we can judge the importance of the Store to the life of the community. The fact that the Store was considered one of the ten essential buildings for the town, and that it was placed in a prominent location gives evidence of its significance. The site for the Store appears on maps long before construction of the building itself; the site actually appears still in the planning stages of the town prior to any construction. And though the placement of the Square does move one block south of the original planned location, the placement of the Store in relation to the square is not altered. Its placement on the square, diagonally across from the planned location of the Church, is recognition of its importance. The early placement of the store on what was to become Main Street, facing the square, indicates the building's planned significance, what Liebs calls “centralization” (qtd. Longstreth, 2000, p. 7), because Main Streets

“served as magnets for commerce” (qtd. Longstreth, 2000, p. 7).

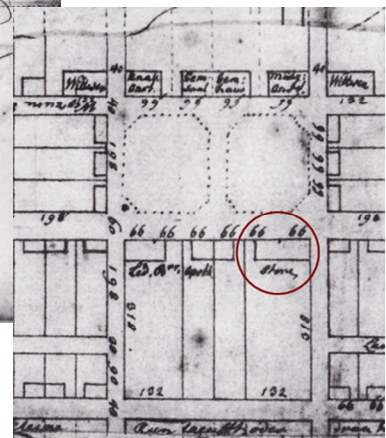
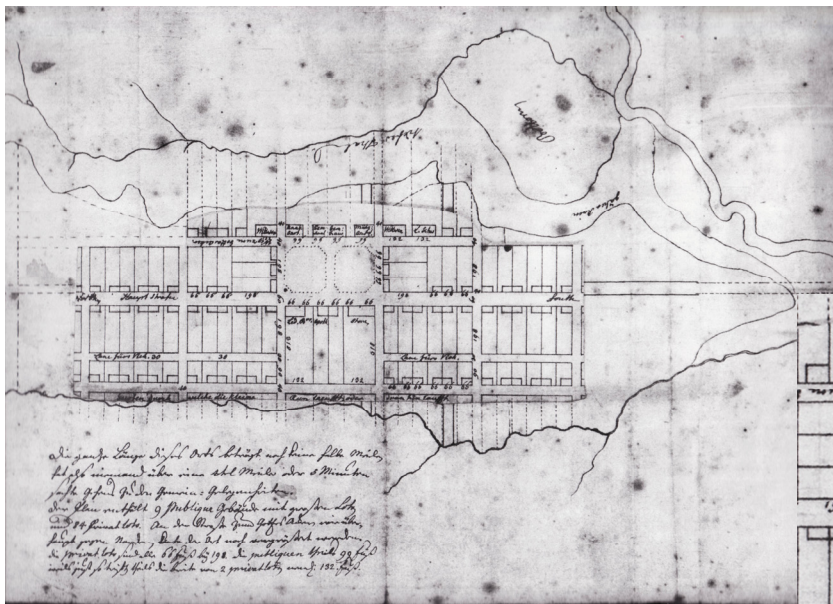


Figure V-1. Town Plan, 1765. Christian Gottlieb Reuter. Old Salem Museums & Gardens, Map Case #013528.
[Detail with Store location circled.]

[illegible][illegible]

A town plan by Reuter a few months later in 1766, (Fig. V-2) before construction began and before the exact location and shape of the Square had been determined, fixed the location of the Store, relative to the Square and other major buildings. Following the medieval example of market place, the Store was located on the main street across from the central Square. This central location confirmed the centrality and importance of this business. Location, location, location. Not only was the Store located centrally in the town, but the very town of Salem was designed to be central in Wachovia. Often this central place in a town grows to that place of centrality in a market. Salem, however, was planned to become a central place. Even if the Moravians' plans had not materialized as they did, it is possible that it could still have become a central place. But the Store and other commercial buildings and trades shops helped fulfill Salem's plan as a commercial center and as a central place, not only for Wachovia, but for a larger area of the Carolina backcountry.

The Store certainly claimed one of the two prime commercial spots in Salem---on the main street facing a corner of the Square. The only other building claiming such a prime location was the Single Brothers House, a major manufacturing center as well as housing for unmarried men. The two long sides of the Square running north to south, were considered the most important sides. The west side which runs along the Main Street was the site for the two most important commercial centers---the Single Brothers' House and the Store, because, "This town is not designed for farmers but for those with trades" (v. 1, p. 313-5). On the east side of the Square, the church and the Single Sisters site were located. To, "keep the plan symmetrical the Store might be placed on the lower

corner [of the Square], since it is also larger than a family house” (v. 1, p. 313-5).

Further, the streets on the north and south sides of the Square are not as important.

I ask that a place be selected for the Square which is as level as possible, at least on the side where the large Gemein Haus and other buildings will stand, and also the side for the Brothers House and the Store. The two other sides of the Square do not matter, we will treat them best we can” (v. 1, p. 313-5).

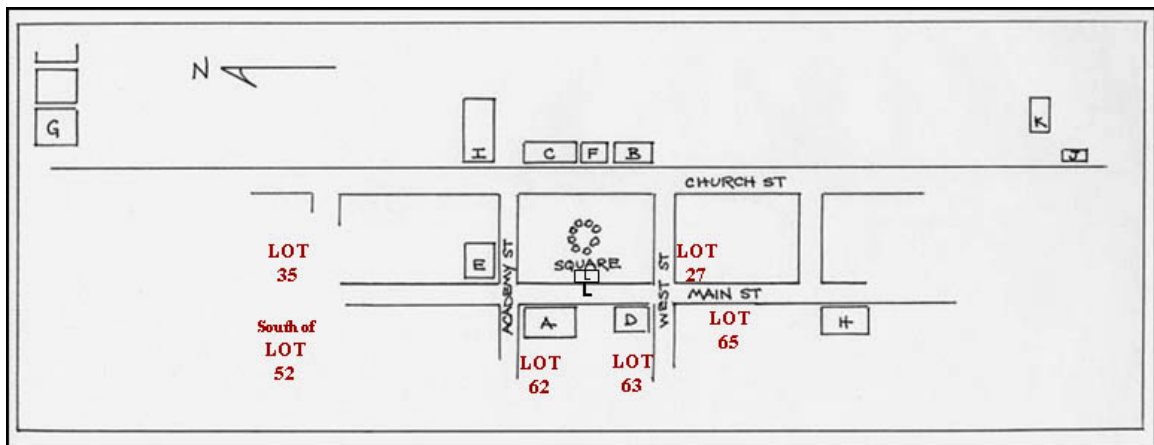


Figure V-3. Map of Salem Public Buildings with Legend. L. Culler

SALEM PUBLIC BUILDINGS		
	BUILDING	YEAR BUILT
A	Single Brothers' House	1769, 1786 addition
B	Single Sisters' House	1786, 1819 addition
C	Gemein Haus	1771 destroyed
	Main Hall, Salem College	1856
D	Community Store	1775
E	Boys' School	1794
F	Girls' School	1805
G	God's Acre	1766
H	Tavern	1784 second, (first-1771, burned)
I	Home Church	1800
J	Log Church	1823 reconstructed
K	St. Philip's Brick Church	1861, 1890 addition
L	Market-Firehouse	1803

Construction was underway. The following year on July 10, 1767, the Directing Board in Herrnhut sent a letter concerning Wachovia, and among other items, list,

- For this beginning about ten different buildings will be required, namely,--
- 1) A house which will serve temporarily for the Saal and residence for the Ministers.
 - 2) A two-story house for the Single Brethren, which can later be used for a family house.
 - 3) A house for the Single Sisters and Girls.
 - 4) A house for the store and warehouse.
 - 5) A house for the tavern.
 - 6) A house for the blacksmith and gunsmith.
 - 7) One for the pottery.
 - 8) A house for the apothecary, etc.
 - 9) A mill and saw-mill.
 - 10) A little farm, with a house, and a barn for about ten cows... (v. 2, p. 601-2).

The Store's importance to the community is evidenced in the list of 10 essential buildings to begin the town.

Wood (1997) discusses the settlement form and describes it as "the spatial structure of the social web" (p. 53). In Salem, the center of this "social web" was the Square. It was the placement of the Square that determined where other buildings were to be constructed. Indeed, when the site of the Square was moved one block south, it affected the relative location of the first family houses already built. Once the Square location was finally determined, the relative placement of the unbuilt structures—the Single Brothers' House, the Gemeinhaus, and the Store--in reference to the Square, remained the same. For these important structures it was not necessarily the geographic location, but the location relative to the Square that was most important. Because

businesses require more space than family homes, the town planners considered it essential to,

...keep all the business together; it would not be well to put these among the family houses. Besides they will need much room, which could be found in the lots opposite the Gemein Haus, running back some distance. * * * In order to keep the plan symmetrical the Store might be placed on the lower corner, since it is also larger than a family house. * * *(Remarks concerning the Laying Out of the new Congregation Town in the center of Wachovia. v. 1, 313-5) July 1765

The Moravians also considered aesthetics important to the plan. Since the Store was to be larger than a family house, it was placed on the “lower corner” of the Square, which provided symmetry to the central Square, thus balancing the other large buildings that would anchor the four corners: the Single Brothers’ House, the Gemeinhaus, and the Single Sisters’ House. Both appearance and convenience were considered to be crucial in planning the town, the streets, and building placement.

Main Street, which ran on the west side of the Square, was the location for the most important businesses in town- the Single Brothers House, the Store, the Pottery and the Tavern. On the east side of the Square, on Church Street, literally and figuratively on higher ground, were God’s Acre, the Gemein Haus, and later Home Church, the Log Church, and the brick church, constructed for the African Moravians in town. These are the two primary streets in town, holding the most important buildings, with one street oriented to spiritual, and the other to commercial endeavors. Indeed it could be argued that religion and commerce were the two main reasons for the very existence of Salem. This clear delineation of the buildings organized on these two streets provided order and

balance; and the initial buildings placed on these streets represented the stability within the early community.

On April 14, 1773, is what appears to be the first mention in Aufseher Collegium minutes, of building the new store, “on the lot which has been destined for this purpose right from the beginning” (AC-EH). Mention was made for the Store building as well as a house, and a hide house. May 18 and 19 further discussions locate the planned structures on the site:

The permanent Skin House, however, shall stand on a line with the Dwelling and the Store House on the Main Street, where the scales shall also be. The dwelling house shall stand on the corner, opposite Reuter’s, then the Store, and then the Skin House (v. 2, p. 770).

A few days later on the 25th it was decided that the hide house would be erected before the store and dwelling. This

description is echoed in the drawing

executed, (Fig V-4) attributed to

Marshall, dated June 19, in which

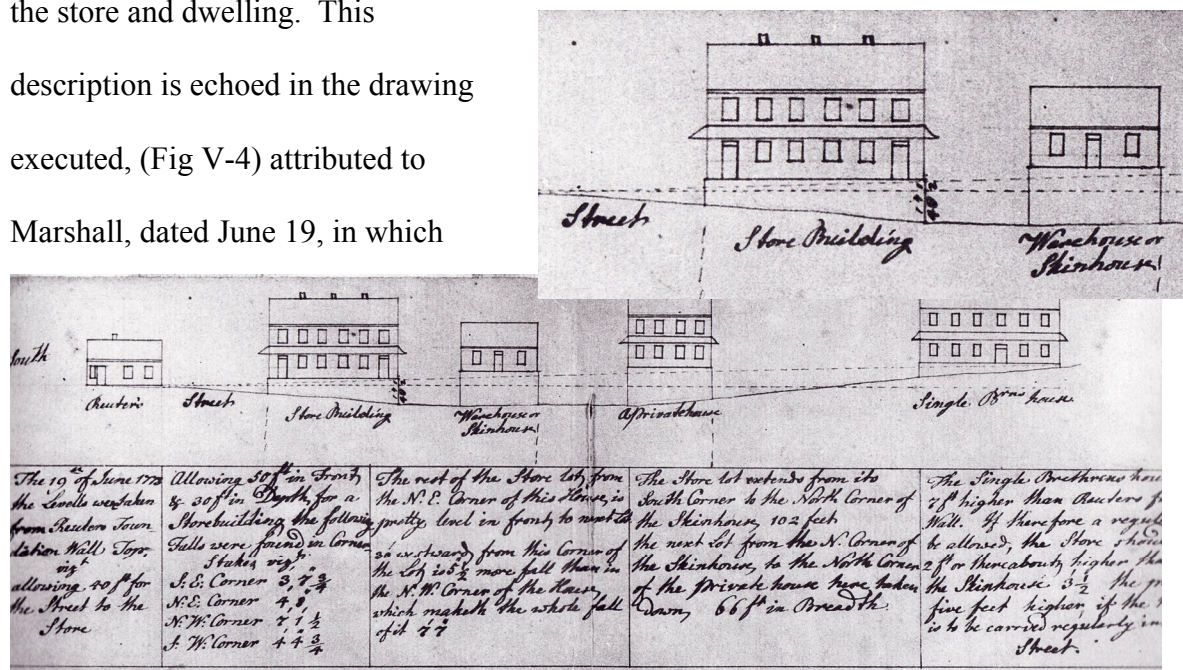


Figure V-4. Elevation of Main Street facing West. Jun 19, 1773. Frederic William Marshall. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Original in Moravian Archives-Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC. [Detail of sketch for the Store building.]

surveying was conducted and elevations drawn up of the slope of the land on Main Street in the block from the Single Brothers' to Reuter's house. The Store lot was in the middle section of this elevation. This elevation of Main street takes into consideration the height to build the Store and Skinhouse (and a private house) to take into consideration the flow of the water system to be constructed; again showing the incredible amount of planning for this backcountry town. The notes on the drawing (Full text: [Appendix B-Elevation of Main Street Facing West](#)) explain the need for filling in the sites along the main street to provide a more regular slope which would aid the flow of water to the lower southwest corner of the Square (site of present pump reconstruction).

Evidence in the Records indicates that is not until 1802 (2 years after Bagge's death) that work was done to, "raise and improve the street from the Brothers House to the store. This has been needed for many years, and most of the work was done this fall..." (v. 6, p. 2692). This may have been the same work that was identified 29 years earlier in the elevation drawn by Marshall in April, 1773.

Lot 63

In April 1772, the Single Brothers asked for permission to use land which was designated for the Store, even though it was still two years before Store construction began. Bagge asked not only for protection of the corner store site, but for the lot between the store lot and the Brothers' House (the Single Brothers' House, one of the first structures completed in Salem was finished in 1769), in case the store building

required more width in front. There was further discussion in December, 1772, regarding the site of the future store. The Single Brothers, whose lot abutted the Store lot, wished to have land that fell below the Store lot. Bagge desired to reserve also that part of the Store lot to be used as a meadow; although he did agree to allow the Brothers to use the area until the Store was built and the land was needed for store use.

The earlier dispute over the Single Brothers' use of the store site, once again came to the forefront after the preparation of an elevation by Marshall in 1773, (Fig. V-4) as the Collegium remarked a few days later on the 21:

When we started to speak about the construction Br. Marshall mentioned that he had noticed when measuring out the lot of the store that the Single Brothers, without knowledge of the Conference, which was still in Bethabara at that time, had taken 10 feet in the width from the lot between their and the store lot. Now they claim their right for the place. We think that this is not right and that they should return this lot. (AC-EH)

In November, 1773, it was mentioned that, "Several former proposals for the construction of the store house have been considered." (AH-EH) Even other locations were considered (Lots 27 and 65) instead of the lot originally designated for the Store. (Lot 63) (Fig. V-3) The location which was first selected, (Lot 63) remained the preferred site because, "the water, which is necessary for the butter trade, is too far off (from the other locations suggested) to construct a spring house there." (AH-EH) (It is not known whether a spring house was built.)

In April 1774 there was still a continuing land grab; the Single Brothers procured a piece of land 673 feet long by 192 feet wide from land "out of Br. Traugott Bagge's lot" (AC-EH). Six days later, the Single Brothers presented a plan for a wagon shed and

a room for the teamsters. The approbation of land on the 15 of April may have been part of their plan which may have benefited the Store. The store apparently did not have their own wagons and teamster, but that job was hired out to the Single Brethren. This land grab may have been beneficial to both the Single Brothers and the Store. Just a few days later, on April 29, “Br. Bagge thinks of having another piece of land measured out behind the store lot, against which there is no opposition” (AC-EH).

On April 18, 1775, the rate was determined for the amount of rent to be charged for the businesses owned by the Congregation. The Store was listed as owning three lots on the corner. At that point, the Bagge had not yet moved from the old Store into the new Store. It is assumed then that the three lots consisted of the lot on which the existing Store stood in the Two-Story building [south of Lot 52], the site of the new permanent Store [Lot 63], and the lot on which Bagge later had a house constructed [Lot 27].

It seems that the Single Brothers are not the only ones who wished to take in more land than what has been allotted to them. On May 3, 1775, complaint was made about Br. Bagge taking in the street west of the square, placing his fence beyond his lot, and ploughing it over again this year,

...not because he wants more of it, but just because he does not like to have other people order him about anything. Since we have talked about this matter already last year and have made a protocol about it, we found it unnecessary to come to another resolution. He shall within 8 days fence in his garden and his lot so that the street will remain free (AC-EH).

But since Bagge has already planted in this space, a week later the Collegium allowed Bagge to keep his extended garden, even though “this matter has caused already so many

quarrels among the Brethren,” and permitted that “he may have it for this year, but no longer. After that he shall have the obligation to fence all his lots in and the path shall remain a public way for everybody” (AC-EH). Two years later, additional land was needed by Bagge again, “Br. Bagge has asked for the bushlot beside that of the Brothers House towards the tavern up to their line, which would be about 2 acres. There has been so objection, so he can start to possess it at Michelmas.” 24 September, 1777. (AC-EH). In 1791, Bagge added another parcel of land to the Store site, when he requested a “piece of the former scrap-meadow, which is now fenced out, as a pasture for his horse. He promised to set up a good fence and to pay annually a good rent for it...” (AC-EH). The back part of the Store lot was used not only for pasturage, but in 1783, the area further back between the Store lot and the lot across the west street, was used as a shooting range once gun-smithing was reinstated, in March of 1783, according to instructions from the Collegium, “...The shooting range can be in the back part of the street between the store and Heinzmann’s, [Reuter’s] but there must be no betting on shots” (v. 4, p. 1849).

On any building lot during this time period, there would be found a number of outbuildings to serve a variety of needs- necessities (outhouses), woodsheds, stables, bake ovens, shed, wells, springhouses, pig stalls, barns, to name a few. For running the business of a retail store there would be other outbuildings important for storing wares and processing of materials for export. The Store site also contained a number of outbuildings: a Skin House, a Powder House, and a Stable, all of which supported the Store in the provision of goods for sale or in the comfort of the Bagge family.

In analyzing the context of the Store within the community; the site; its location within the community; and the building's relation to other structures, we can determine values decisions in relation to the store. The degree of town planning points to the concept of St. George that building locations in a town are an attempt to control the chaos of the world. The Moravians' undertaking of the construction of Salem in the backcountry wilderness is an example of this desire to exert some degree of control over the surrounding chaos. The store placement on a ridge lot with the building built into the hillside was determined by the German culture of the Moravians. By understanding that human decisions that are molded by natural systems, Sauer identifies that it is through the combination of the cultural heritage with the natural topography of a region that we see the resulting cultural landscape. This is evident in the existing landscape of Salem.

The cultural attitudes over where the buildings should be placed are representative of the concept of cultural landscape and how as individuals and as communities, people shape where they live. According to Moravian principles, a congregation town like Salem was considered one family—this was influential in determining the plan of the town. This Moravian concept is reinforced by Wood's philosophy that the organization of the common space in a town is a reflection of its "social web." The central placement of the Store on Main Street across from the Square supports the importance of this business to the community, and reinforces its position within the "social web," such that it would be convenient for all. From a cultural landscape viewpoint, the extensive amount of planning for Salem, the decision to orient the store at the center of the town, and to place it on the main street, attest to the Store's worth to the community.

STRUCTURE: *Interaction of the building with the culture of the community*



Figure V-5. Restored Salem Store. 2009. Photo L. Culler.

As planning was a hallmark of the Moravians, evidenced by the previously mentioned town planning, the same deliberation is evident also in the planning and construction of the Store building. The records tell us that several plans were drawn up for the Store and discussed before construction began. That Br. Bagge challenged the original plans and presented his own, which were accepted, is an indicator of Bagge's influence in the community. As per his specifications, with building expenses paid by the church, the building to serve as Store and Bagge dwelling was constructed of solid stone. And indeed, the construction method was expensive and built to last. It is a building that is important for its role in the Salem community, it is not significant as an architectural specimen, however, in the words of Longstreth (2000): "...the ordinary buildings of any

given era, elaborate or plain, contribute far more than the truly extraordinary character of the American landscape” (p.21). (Appendix A, Exterior)

In 1772, Salem became the commercial and spiritual center of Wachovia. When Br. Bagge, his family and his staff, moved to Salem January 13, 1772, to begin operating the Store business, he moved into the Two-Storey House in the space that had been used for the *Gemein Saal* [place for worship] until the *Gemein Haus* was finished. But very soon after, first discussions begin to consider the new Store building which was to be erected. The earliest mentions of the Store, on April 18, 1772, do not consider the style or construction of the buildings, but recognize that, “the store building may demand more width in the front than in the back of the building” (AC-EH).

A year later, in May 1773, the discussion began in earnest to consider the Store building. On May 19, there are two different translations for the entry describing the Store building. Both entries seem to be ambiguous in the description of the structure mentioned to be built of stripped logs, 16 x 24. It sounds as though they are considering a temporary Skin House to be built behind the designated placement for the new Store building.

May 19, 1773- (Auf. Col.) There was further discussion concerning the Store. For immediate use a house 16 by 24 feet shall be built of stripped logs, beams thrown across, and a few more logs added, so that an upper floor can be laid when needed. It shall stand back in the future Store lot, and will give the Store the place lost in the present Skin House, and skins can be stored in it for the time being. The permanent Skin House, however, shall stand on a line with the Dwelling and the Store House on the Main Street, where the scales shall also be. The dwelling house shall stand on the corner, opposite Reuter’s, then the Store, and then the Skin House. The temporary Skin House shall be built as soon as possible. When the little powder house is ready work shall begin on the present Skin House (v. 2, p. 770).

May 19, 1773- At further consideration of what we could do for the store we decided that we could build for the present time a house 16 x 24 feet of peeled blocks, beams thrown across, and a few more blocks added, so that an upper floor can be laid when needed. The house could stand behind in the yard and would be used for the present as a space which is lost for the present store hide house. The permanent hide house, however, would stand on a line with the living and store house right on the main street. There we shall also have the scales. The living and store house would come at the corner of the street. The apartment across from Br. Reuter [then living on Lot 64], then the store and then the permanent hide house. We shall try to fix the first mentioned house as soon as possible. In the meantime they can start with the building, on the upper part of the present hide house lot, of the little house for the ammunition [Lot 35] (AC-EH).

The following day on May 20, the entry seems to clear up the question, that the temporary structure mentioned on the 19th was describing a Skin House for the new Store (opposed to a Skin House on lot 35, near God's Acre.) And five days later, "In the matter of the new store house it was decided to build first a hide house and then a living and store house, both, however, shall be erected at the main street" (AC-EH). [See entry of 28 Dec 1784]

An undated "Street Floor Plan for a Proposed Store in Salem," which is attributed to Marshall, is likely the plan mentioned on Dec 22, 1773 (Figs. V-6 and 7):

The Brn. Marshall, Graff and the Collegium looked at the newly designed plan of the Store and the living house for it. Br. Bagge mentioned all his old wishes about it. So we thought he should turn in a plan of how he would like to have things arranged so that we can debate about the matter (AC-EH).

As the plans discussed apparently did not meet with Bagge's expectations, he was encouraged to turn in his own plan, which called for a one-story structure. His proposal

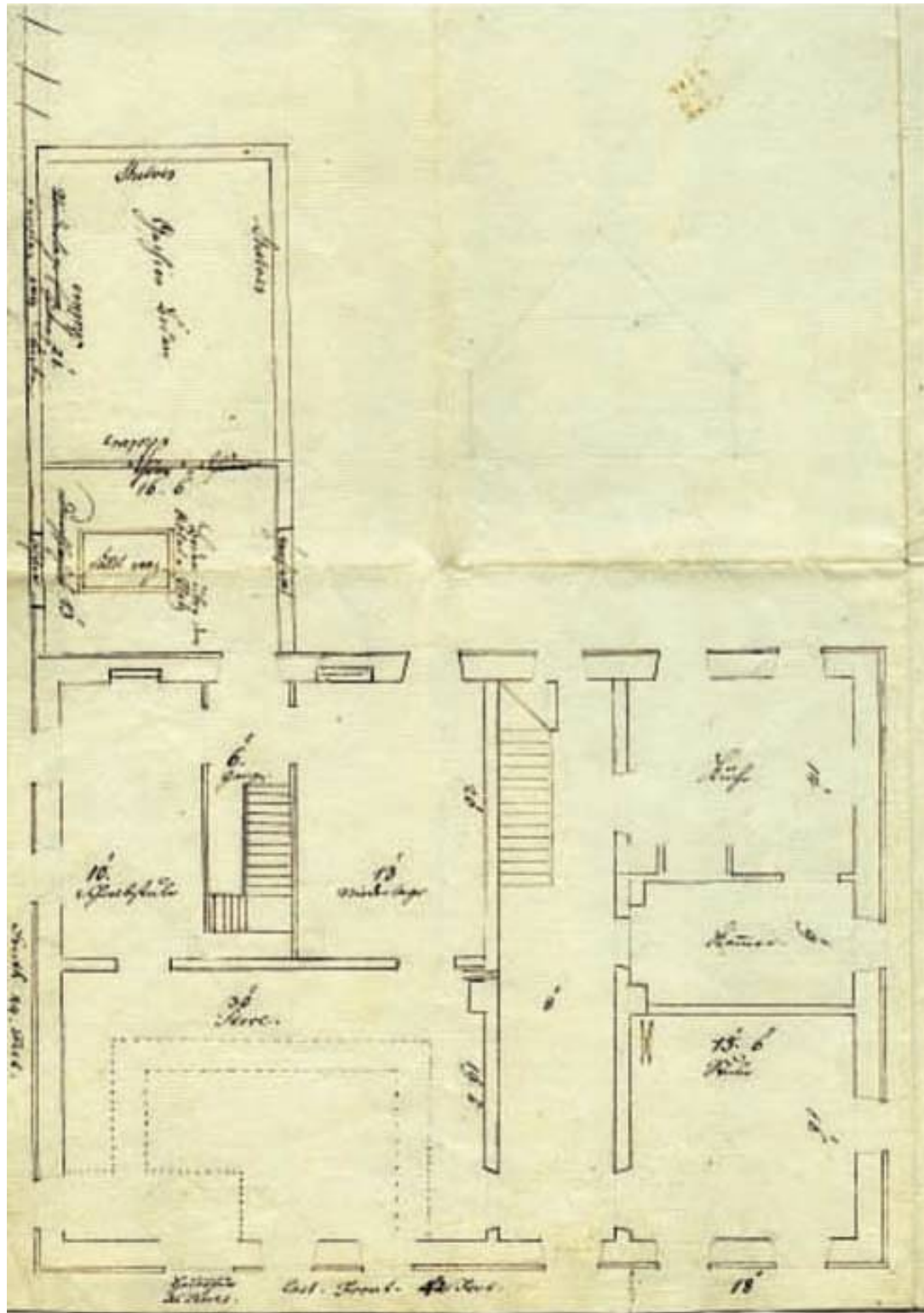


Figure V-6. Undated Plans, c. 1773. Main Floor. Attributed Friedrich William Marshall. "Street Floor Plan for a Proposed Store in Salem." Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Original in Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

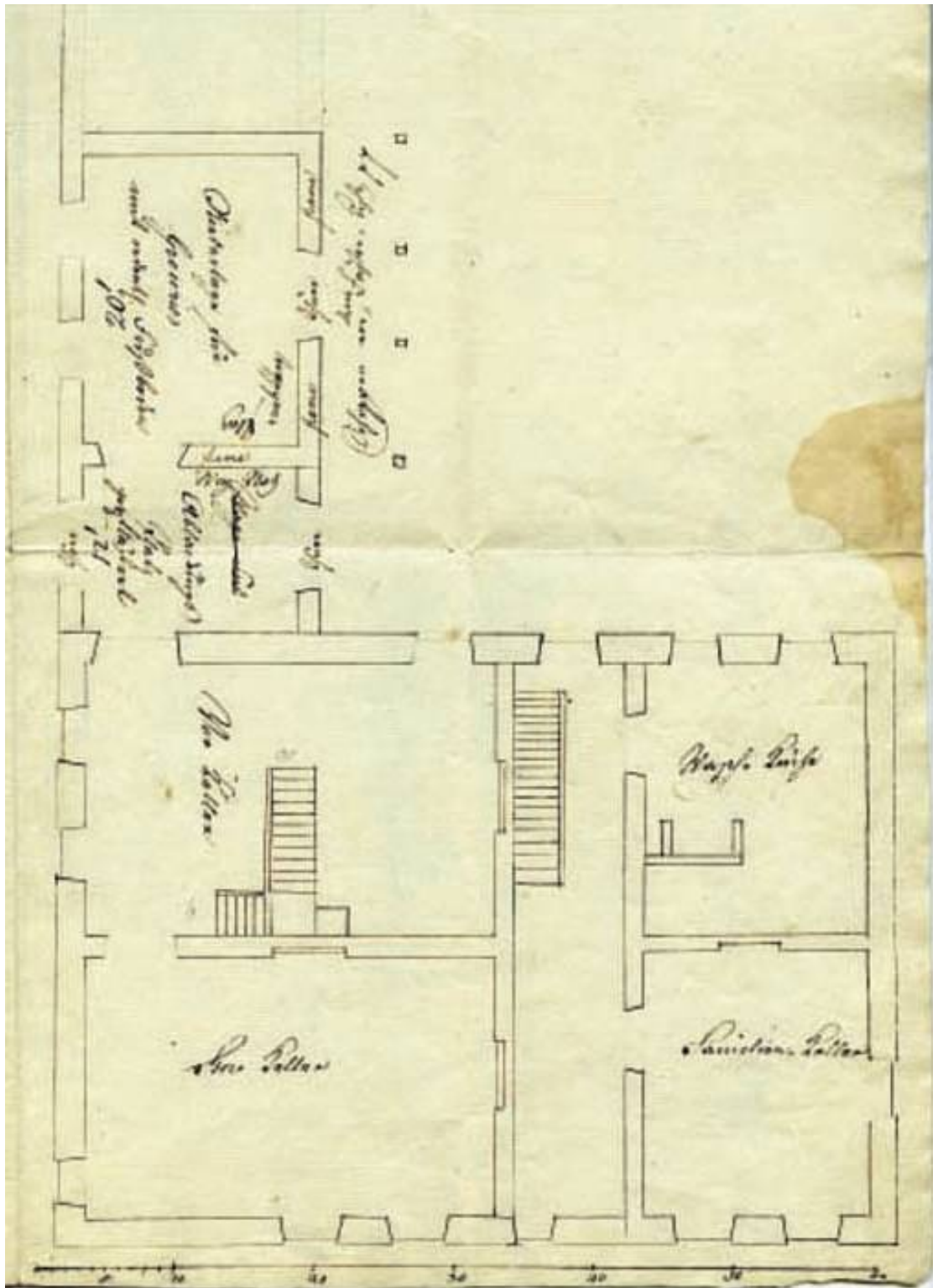


Figure V-7. Undated Plans, c. 1773. Cellar Floor.

was brought forward on December 29, and accepted January 26, 1774, after consulting the Lot to determine if perhaps the Saviour really might prefer a two-story building:

The new store which is to be built for Br. Bagge according to his proposal and sketch is to be only one-story, but consequently more spread-out and expensive. We considered whether, after all, a two-story house might not be indicated. We place into the Lot: "Have we anything more to ask in the matter?" We received, "No." We decided, therefore, to do nothing further, but to let the building go on as planned (EC-S).

Timber was cut for the building in February, 1774, and the cornerstone laid on April 5, 1774. A year and month later construction was complete and, on the 8th of May, 1775, "Br. Bagge finished moving from the old into the new store, and tonight he and his family slept there for the first time" (SD-F).

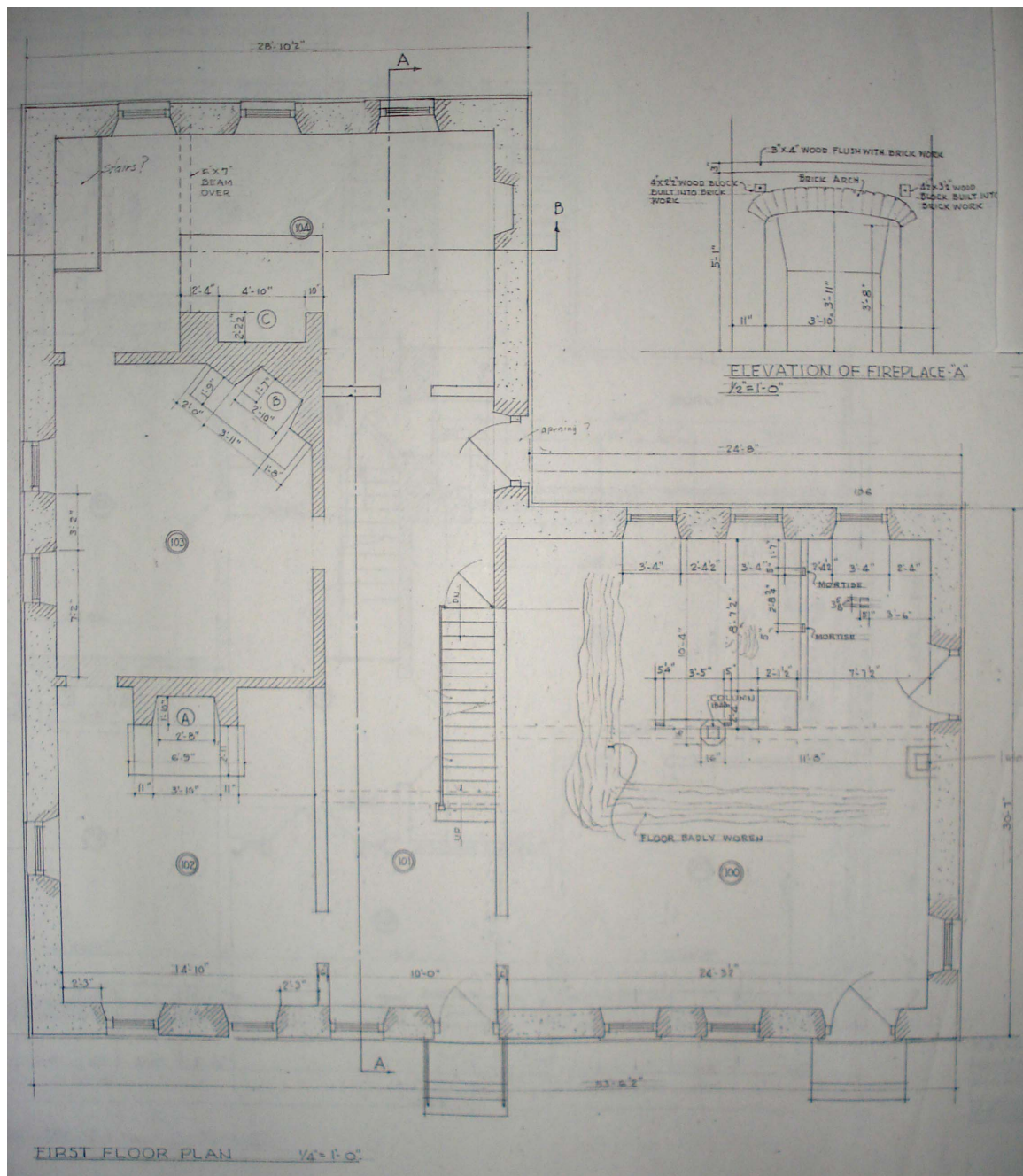


Figure V-8. 1950s Plans. Main Floor. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Original Plans- Perry, Shaw & Hepburn, Kehoe & Dean.

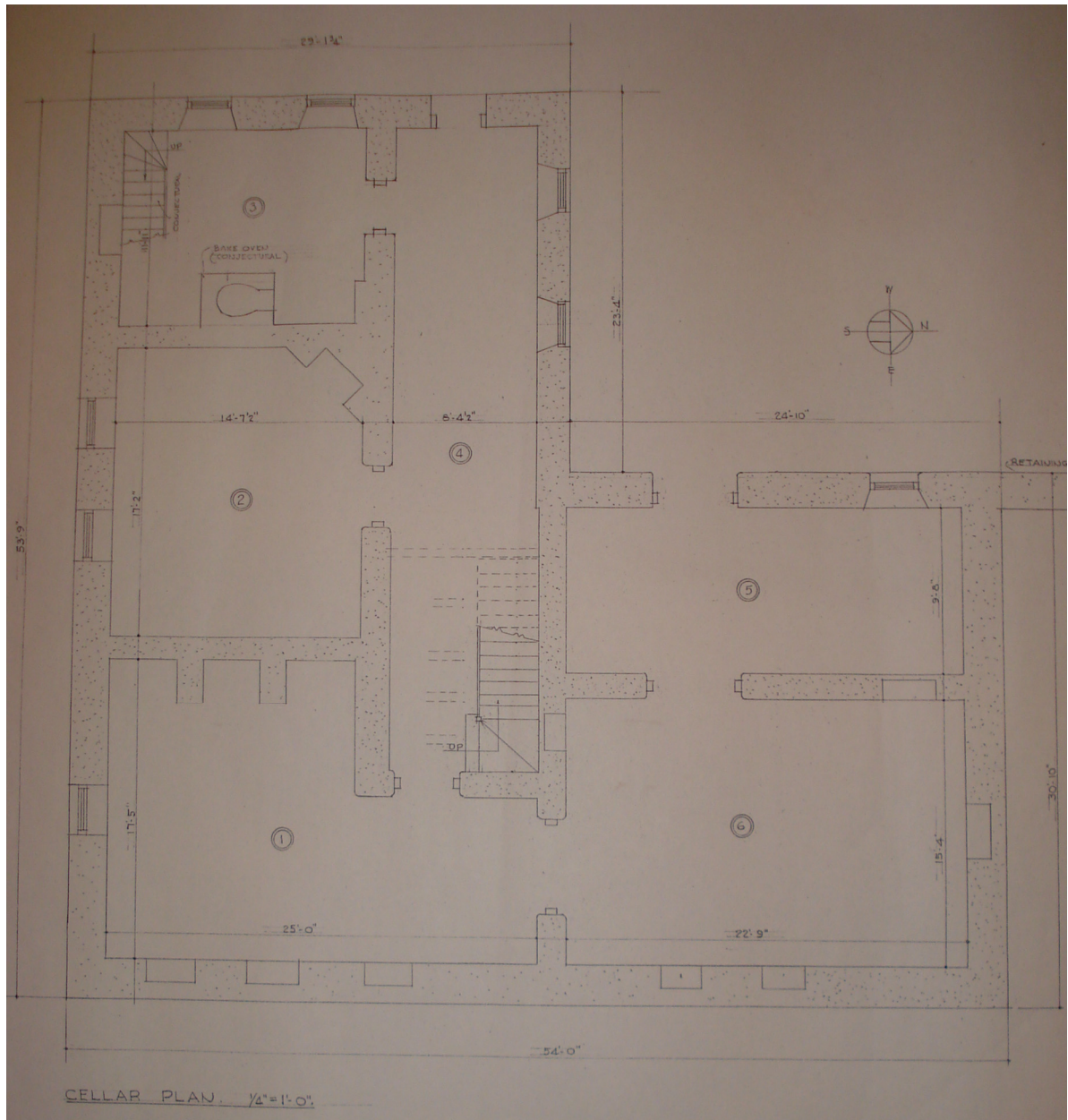


Figure V-9. 1950s Plans. Cellar Floor.

Form

The Store building, on the 1773 map, (Fig. V-10) before construction, is clearly indicated as an L-shaped structure.) Longstreth (2000) explains that this shape was to

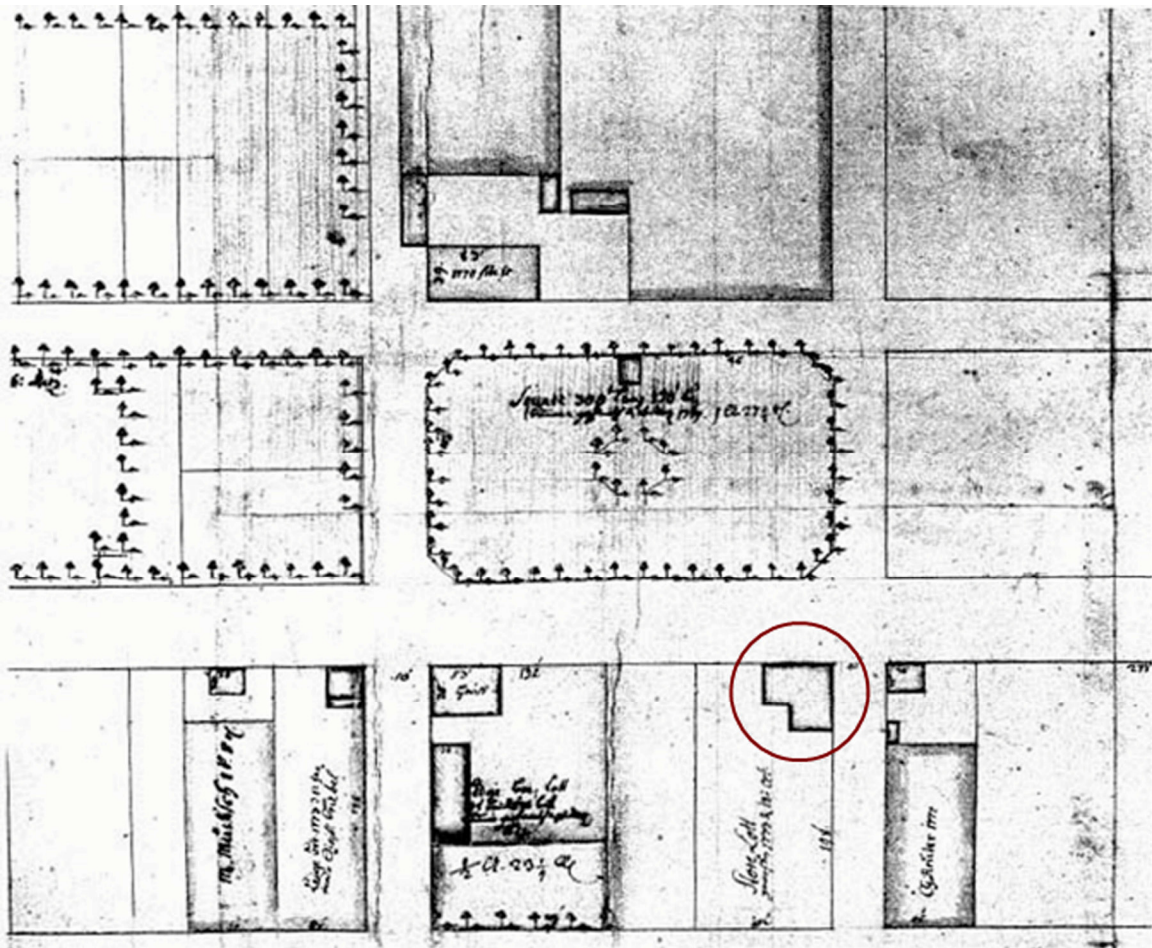


Figure V-10. 1773-1774 Detail of Map of Salem. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. [Circle highlights Store shape even before construction.]

follow the shape of the lot, noting that “form follows lot at least as much as, and often more than, it does function or size” (p.18). He also argues that form is much more, and that the exterior form is also shaped by the interior;

In examining the interior, the earliest buildings in Salem follow the typical German *Flurkuchenhaus* form, a three-room house, with a central chimney. (Foster,

2004, p. 63). (Fig. II-4) For the Store, the *Flurkuchenhaus* model is not as clear. The Store does display central chimneys, with the residential side of the Store structure, containing three rooms. However, these three rooms are soldiered up one behind the other. The fact that the Store building combines both residence and commercial space presents a form which seems to combine the *Flurkuchenhaus*, (or Bishir and Southern's "German Hall-Kitchen") model with the Three Room with Center Passage Plan (Bishir and Southern, 2003, in b, p. 30). The kitchen in the Store residence is not a large room extending from front to back of the structure, but rather is a smaller cell relegated to the rear of the dwelling side of the building, which puts it at the rear of the "L." The chimney orientation is however true to Germanic tradition, in that fireplaces are centrally located rather than at the outsides of the building, as is more typically English. The Store also exhibits German form in its asymmetry.

In addition to the form, German architecture often was sited on a hillside, to allow exterior access to cellar space, from the rear (Foster, 2004, p. 64). The hillside orientation is evident in the Store building, with the rear exposed on the cellar level of both Store and dwelling. (Appendix A, Exterior.) Combining this siting with the L-shape construction, provided excellent entry and egress for Store goods and allowed for adequate work areas to the rear, hidden from view of the front and side streets.

Marshall, who most likely drew up the undated plans of the Store, could be considered the architect of the Store building, as his talents and experience had allowed him to provide that service to Salem for other buildings. His well of knowledge from which he drew was composed of the accepted building principles and practices of the

Moravians. The undated plans (Fig. V-6 and 7) and the theorized plan of the Store as built (Fig. V8 and 9, and Appendix B-1950s Plans), however, present a floor plan similar to the Tavern plan as restored to its 1785 form, with a central corridor bisecting the building from front to back. In the Store, this configuration divided the building with one side being commercial space the other, residential. The most considerable difference between the undated plans and the theorized actual plans of the Store, are in the allotment of the amount of personal space in relation to business space. The undated plans, presumably presented by Marshall, show the larger portion, which includes the “long” part of the L as commercial space, and a much smaller space is allowed for residence. But in the Store as built, the spaces are flip-flopped, the residence occupied the “long” part of the L, and thus Bagge obviously committed the larger space for his living space, not the Store space. There is no mention in the records that this was an issue, or that there might be any objection to Bagge’s plan.

Upton and Vlach (1986) tell us that architecture of a community aids in understanding the “social identity” (p. xvi) of a community, because the planners and builders are important “formgivers” (p. xvi) who use their knowledge and experience to adapt cultural wisdom and apply it to architecture. At the time planning and construction was underway for Salem’s store, it was during Salem’s infancy. The formgivers at this time in Salem were influenced by German architecture, as well as the cultural wisdom of several Moravian communities. In planning the Store, Marshall, who is considered the “architect” for much of Salem, presented a plan for the Store from his vast experience and the wisdom of the Moravian culture, which included European, German, and English

influences. However, for whatever reason, Marshall's plan does not suit Br. Bagge. We see here a situation that seems to contradict the study of much vernacular architecture. For it seems, Marshall was more architect than builder. Bagge, who was not an architect or builder, presented an idea of what he wants, perhaps influenced by his prior work as a merchant, in Sweden or Germany in his family business, or from his work in Moravian stores in Germany and the Netherlands, or from both the Bethabara store and in the first store location in Salem's Two-Story House. According to Upton and Vlach, this may aptly describe the principle discussed by Glassie in explaining that people understand the principles of their culture's template of architecture, instead of actually copying the individual elements. This "allows them to invent new cultural performances' that do not necessarily duplicate another example but that obviously share the same underlying principles" (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xxii). Bagges' proposal may exemplify "the phenomenon that Noam Chomsky called 'creativity': the ability to create a unique artifact while remaining within culturally determined limits," which is the "fundamental problem for understanding vernacular design" (Upton and Vlach, eds., 1986, p. xxii). Unfortunately, no drawings have been discovered that are known to be those drawn by Br. Bagge, and used for the construction of the Store. But by studying the physical evidence of the extant building, the architectural plans for modification in 1910, and the architectural plans of the 1950s restoration, and comparing these with the undated plans that were not used, it gives us an idea of the store as it may be existed in the late eighteenth century.

Construction

The architecture of the Store makes a statement about material culture. The Moravians drew up guidelines for construction in 1788 (Appendix F-Building Rules, July 29, 1788). Although this was after the Store was built, these building rules provide insight regarding the thought processes of the community leaders pertaining to construction in town. It is stated that such rules are part of any well-ordered community. This says much about the desire of the builders and leaders of Salem to maintain order. The “art of building” as it relates to the “order and way of our Community” speaks to Upton and Vlach’s comments that a community which is more socially secure will possess a clearer sense of their identity which will in turn be evident in their architecture. As “formgivers” (Upton and Vlach, 1986, p. xvi), the Moravians model the strong social identity that is characteristic of vernacular architecture. The solidly built Store structure is a testament to the Moravian’s desire for stability and permanence, and is an example of the community sanction discussed by Upton and Vlach. The solidity of the Store is also an indicator of the health of the entire community. As described by Longstreth, the commercial buildings in a community are signs of the potential and achievements of a town, and thus provide its identity.

Within the “cultural performances” (Glassie, 1986) of Moravian architecture, the Salem leaders designed an L-shaped form that departed from the typical German *Flurkuchenhaus*. This building, which incorporated store and residence, retained basic principles of Moravian architecture, while allowing “creativity” as defined by Chomsky.

This is another characteristic of vernacular architecture, in which adaptations are made within culturally defined limits to create something unique.

But these strong cultural conventions were to some degree tested by an individual. Br. Bagge rejected the original proposed plans of the store and chose to submit his own version. Working with the overall framework of the community vocabulary of architecture, Bagge accepted basic principles of the German form, but personalized the space to his preferences. This points to the fact that although the Moravians had developed strong cultural guidelines, they were open to the suggestions of an individual, if that person was accepted and respected by the community. Bagge seems to have wielded respect and power within the community even from his arrival. However, the ultimate community sanction came from the voice of their Lord. It was through the Lot that final decisions were settled. This acceptance is evidence of the strong identity of the community.

SKIN: *Interaction of the building with the public*

In 1773, discussion began regarding the construction of the Store in Salem. The exterior walls of both the Store and the Skin House were to be built of uncut stone, plastered over, using unburned bricks for interior walls. Before this point in Salem, stone had been used only for foundation walls, and was often covered with a plaster coat for a more finished appearance. Once the major construction work was completed, the finish coat of plaster was added. But complaint was made in March of 1775 that potter's clay was being used for the Store "against the potters' wish" (AC-EH). To which Bagge

“offered to return what he had left” (AC-EH). The records do not indicate that the use of potter’s clay was halted, only that the remains would be returned. To better understand the complaint of the potter, an entry from June 1772 states,

Reuter shall have oversight of the digging of clay, and the breaking and hauling of stone. 1sh. 4d. per wagon load can be paid for potter’s clay, and 4d for white clay for building. Whoever digs clay or stone shall fill up the holes at his own expense (v. 2, p. 700).

The white clay used for construction was a shilling less expensive per load than the clay used by the potter. In Wachovia, there were a “broad spectrum of clays” (Bivens, 1972, p.



Figure V-11. Detail of restored faux Ashlar finish. 2009. Photo L. Culler.

74) available. From the entries, it is not clear exactly what clay was used for the finish coat on the Store; however, objection of the potter that potters’ clay was being used for construction indicates that this was perhaps a finer and more expensive clay than normally used in building.

In 1953, in preparation for restoration, a preliminary study was conducted of the Store by preservation architect Mr. Andrew Hepburn of Perry, Shaw & Hepburn. This began the fund-raising effort to begin the restoration process. In the campaign booklet for that effort, it was stated that the exterior was “originally 1 ½ stories, of field stone plastered over and painted light blue” (*Their Faith-Our Heritage*). However, in 1954,

once the actual process of restoration was underway, the skin of the store building was stripped down to its original stone. The architects uncovered small areas of the original plaster coat, showing also the scribed or molded lines which create the effect of ashlar stone. (Fig. V-11) The photographs of that original fabric are in black and white, so it is impossible to know the color of the plaster. However, the *Winston-Salem, Journal and Sentinel* newspaper, 25 July, 1954, recorded an “unexpected “find” ... thinly-coated plaster, painted pink which covered the stone.”

Style

The style architecture constructed in the earliest buildings in Salem reflected the Germanic origins of the builders, with an eye to function. The medieval architectural components that represent this style are “asymmetry, heaviness of proportion and verticality typical of that period. Steeply pitched roofs with a ‘kick’ to the eaves, herringbone ‘Dutch’ doors, banded central chimney, pent roofs and half-timbering” (Taylor, 1981, p. 9). Many of these characteristics are evident in the Store—the steep pitched roof, the “kick”, the asymmetry, heavy proportions, and the central banded chimneys. Fenestration (door and window placement) pierces the building to provide light as it relates to the interior cells, with less concern for the resulting aesthetics of the building exterior. The Moravians constructed many buildings of stone in their Pennsylvania communities, and so were familiar with that building material. However, the added expense to cover the stones with stucco in a faux Ashlar finish to resemble cut stones, gave the exterior appearance a look very different from the earlier Salem

buildings of log or *fachwerk*. Aesthetics were important for a building with the importance of the Store. Bay windows were fashionable for mercantile businesses in London at the time—a detail, which does not escape the notice of Marshall, for the *Records* note: “It will be well, also, that the building in front shall have a bay, as Br. Marshall will show on a sketch” (EC-S). There is no evidence that a bay was constructed.

The Store
Building Account,
beginning July 30, 1773
and ending April 30,
1777, lists a total 12
shutters with hinges
and hooks, 12
casements, and 2 ¼ box
of window glass. Front
Windows were a 9 over



Figure V-12. Community Store from the S.E. 1950. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. #L32.

6 pane configuration as seen in photos as early as 1865, (Fig. V-13) before renovations changed the size of Store windows. The building had two entrances, one for the Store and one for the Bagge residence. From photographic evidence, the Store entrance was changed at least by 1865, and perhaps earlier in 1840 when the building was raised to a full two stories. There were further more significant alterations to the building in 1910, completely changing the façade. (Fig. V-12, and Appendix A- 1910 Plans) In the 1954

restoration of the building, archaeological study was conducted to ascertain the original fenestration, with no conclusive evidence. Further restoration and renovation in the twentieth century muddled the architectural evidence. From architect's plans drawn during restoration, the five front cellar windows are indicated, along with the conjectured first floor fenestration as restored. (Figs. V-8 and 9)

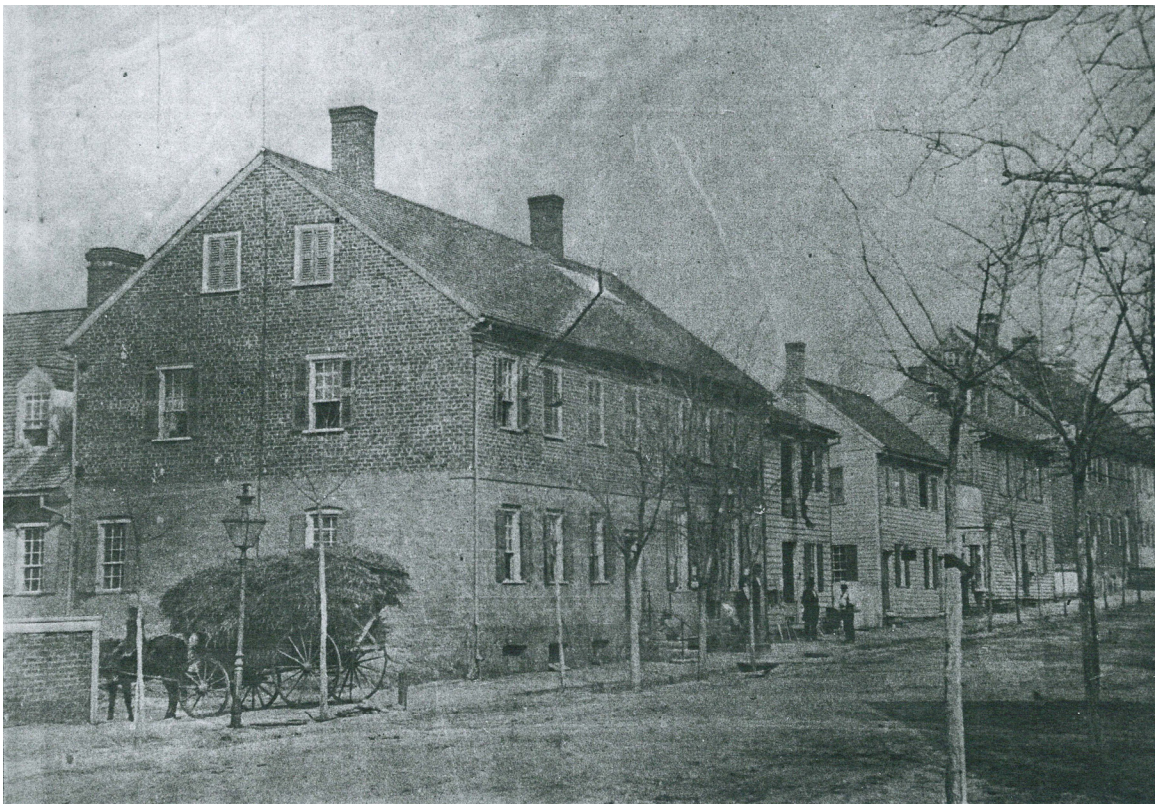


Figure V-13. “Community Store” c. 1865. Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

Fenestration is important from a practical standpoint as it provides light to interior spaces. (Appendix C-Store Building Fenestration) Practically speaking window placement is an example of German culture, because location follows interior function, producing an asymmetrical façade. Aesthetically speaking, the windows were a sign of affluence because of the size. All glass in Salem was imported because there were no raw

materials in Wachovia for making glass. Transport of such a fragile material in wagons over rough roads, created a lot of breakage, because of this glass was an expensive item. In the Store, twelve large windows provided light. These windows which were a 9-over-6 configuration required more glass and were more expensive than the smaller 6-over-6 windows. The fact that these large windows were on the sides and even the rear, as well as the front indicates that no expense was spared for the Store construction. This provides an example of Chappell's concept that houses are shaped by the activities within, and that the details of a structure are representative of the people who design them and their social relations.



Figure V-14. Community Store. c. 1895, after trolley. (Front cellar windows were covered up when Main Street was leveled in 1890 to level the street for a trolley system. Compare Fig. V-13 and V-14 to notice difference in street level.) Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

The Store was the first stone building in Salem. This was a more permanent building than one of wood. But rather than leave the stone exposed, the extra step was made to plaster over the stone to create an ashlar finish. This created a more refined appearance, and was more expensive, especially since Bagge specified using potter's clay. This permanence and aesthetic both reiterate that the Store was seen not just as an important building commercially for the town, but it was considered a structure that represented the town. It provided an image of wealth and stability. This in turn created an atmosphere of desire and trust from the Store's customers. Through these decisions about the skin of the Store, Br. Bagge was making a statement about his relative wealth, and the community was presenting an image of commercial legitimacy.

SERVICES: *Interaction of the building with the residents and staff*

Because of the date of construction, the Services layer may not at first glance appear to be important to this study, but to paraphrase Upton and Vlach (1986), people do not build houses primarily to impress others or to create some new aesthetic, “but to use in their day-to-day activities” (p. xviii). It is the function of the building that is of utmost importance. For this reason it is crucial for understanding a building to know what activities were enacted inside the building. The services are aspects of a building that assist individuals in performing their various activities.

Water access directly impacts daily activities because water is essential for cooking, cleaning, and processing of various products. Perhaps this is why Br. Bagge, “had been very unfriendly, and had said that partiality had been shown in the placing of

the standpipes” (v. 3, p. 1258). His concern for the greatest efficiency required that the water source be as close as possible to the location of activity. Although the placement of the pump directly across the street from the Store was closer than for most residents, perhaps Bagge thought the water should be brought directly into the Store as it was in the Tavern. The Collegium in defending its position states that it “knows of no partiality; the reason the one stand-pipe was placed in the Square and not by the store was because in the Square a cistern could be made more easily” (v. 3, p. 1258). Apparently it was a matter of convenience; but it may be also that the Collegium was considering the convenience and needs of others weighed against the needs of Bagge. If so the placement of the standpipes was one of social concerns, considering the needs of the entire community, and how the needs of an individual fit within that understanding.

Matters of light and temperature are indicated in placement of windows and doors. As discussed previously, the twelve large windows were more expensive. These provided additional lighting and inform us that even though it was a greater expense it was a high priority for Bagge. It is enlightening to remember that the Store was owned by the church, and the expense of construction fell on the church; so Bagge is further making the statement that these more expensive features are important enough to Bagge to expect the church to pay even though Bagge and his family will be the recipients of most of the benefits. This says a great deal about the social aspects of this building. Even before Bagge had actually proved himself in the Store business in Salem, he has the confidence to make such requests of the church.

SPACE PLAN: Interaction of the building with the residents and staff

The undated plans, circa 1773, (Figs. V-6 and 7) provide clues to the values placed on space allotment, traffic patterns, and division between commercial and residential spaces. For this research, Marshall's plan has been compared with the existing evidence of the extant building, and with the 1910 (Appendix B-1910 Plans) and 1950s architectural drawings (Figs. V-8 and 9, and Appendix B-1950s Plans). These two sets of twentieth century plans have value in understanding the eighteenth century space because the architects and drafters noted original materials, and changes to original fabric that provide a point of reference to piece together the building as it may have looked and functioned upon its completion in 1775.

Although the square footage between Bagge's and Marshall's plans are relatively consistent the orientation of the store and home seem to represent the most telling interaction of building and people. (Appendix C-Marshall's Plan/Bagge's Plan) It appears that Br. Bagge had a greater interest in residential space allotment and Marshall had a greater interest in commercial. Marshall designed the store to occupy the south end of the building, locating it on the corner of Main Street and the street/road/garden that ran on the west side of the square (which is now called West Street). The store as built to Bagge's specifications, located the home on the south end of the building. This corner location would have provided greater visibility. Indeed, it seems that Marshall indicates there to be a door to the store opening to this side street, as well as the main door on Main Street. This greater visibility would equate "larger," and thus wealthier if viewed as a residence, because of this Br. Bagge presented an image of higher status, especially as

compared with Br. Reuters's house across the street. Reuter's house was smaller, it was shorter, and it was a frame house. Also Bagge's stone residence in comparison would have literally "overlooked" Reuter. (It was with Reuter that there were bitter disputes over Bagge plowing up the street to plant his garden, even before Bagge actually inhabited the house.) In this disagreement it was stated that, "Br. Bagge has always put the fence beyond the measured land, not because he wants more of it, but just because he does not like to have other people order him about anything" (AC-EH). This transpired around the time Bagge and his family moved into their home, and into the store. It is probable that Br. Bagge was trying to make a statement about his position in the town hierarchy, using his home as a means to do so.

Commercial

An eighteenth century store served a function very different from today's retail establishments. Martin's studies on retail spaces have been of great value in understanding the Salem store, and what was typical for the eighteenth century. The store building interior has been altered to such an extreme over the years that in the absence of original evidence, Martin's examples of stores in Virginia (Martin, 2000, in b, p. 201-218) provide excellent guidelines to speculate as to the original store space plan. The Salem store did indeed serve as a retail business, selling merchandise that was purchased and brought into town for sale. However, the eighteenth century store served also as collector of country produce, which was processed, stored and taken to market for exchange for other goods, and as another source of income. In addition, the local store

also served as the “bank” in currency exchange, extension of credit, and occasionally in extension of loans.

“Store”

In Marshall’s plan, (Fig. V-6 and 7, and Appendix B-Translation of Undated Plans) the labels for rooms and features provide valuable clues to work areas considered important to running a retail business. The “Main Door of Store” (translation), is the opening on Main Street, closest to the south corner. The “Store” or main sales room was almost square measuring from 200 to 500 square feet. The first room entered from the exterior is the “Store,” (English), where customer and sales personnel interacted in a world of consumer goods. Marshall indicated what appears to be a customer traffic pattern or perhaps a three-section counter. (Fig. V-6) The space between the dotted line and the wall measures approximately 4’ 9,” which would allow enough space for shelves built along the wall, with room enough for a clerk to move easily between the counter and the shelves. It was typical during this time period for a store to have a large counter which separated the store personnel from the customer.

Since such major changes have been made to the interior space over time, there is very little original fabric remaining to fully restore the store interiors. Much piecemeal research has been brought together from a variety of sources to conjecture as to the appearance and even the actual dimensions of these spaces. It is conjectured that the store room, may have been an L-shaped room with the north-south extending the full width of the interior space, and the “tail of the L” extending west into the southwest

bed. A barrel as large as a hogshead would fit through the door opening vertically and when placed on its side and rolled would likely have created the wear pattern on the floor. The mortise holes provide the location for walls for the office and sleeping rooms, and would have provided the L shape around which the barrels would have been rolled. There is enough space on either side of the wear pattern to allow for the size of a hogshead to avoid such obstacles as walls, and this wear pattern then provides an approximate location for the main sales counter.

If the counter ran north/south in the store room space, it bisected the realm of the consumer from the business area of the store personnel. According to Martin's study, counters, which were used for measuring and displaying goods, and for writing in account books, were common but they were not required. If a counter was present, it was often not included on the store inventory, most likely because it was built-in. (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 198-200). Goods were stored on shelves around the room, behind the counter which made the storekeeper gatekeeper to the world of consumer goods, as he removed merchandise from the shelves and brought it to the counter for display to the customer. This meant that the storekeeper was in control. Shelving probably ran along the along the south wall from the interior door to the south/west corner, for about 21'. With shelves on the west wall backing a board wall to the office and sleeping space, about 11' is available. And on the north wall between the north/east window and the wall to the offices, original evidence in the 1954 restoration indicates about 10' of horizontal parallel wood strips at approximately 9," 4,' 6'6," and 8'4" from the floor, which would

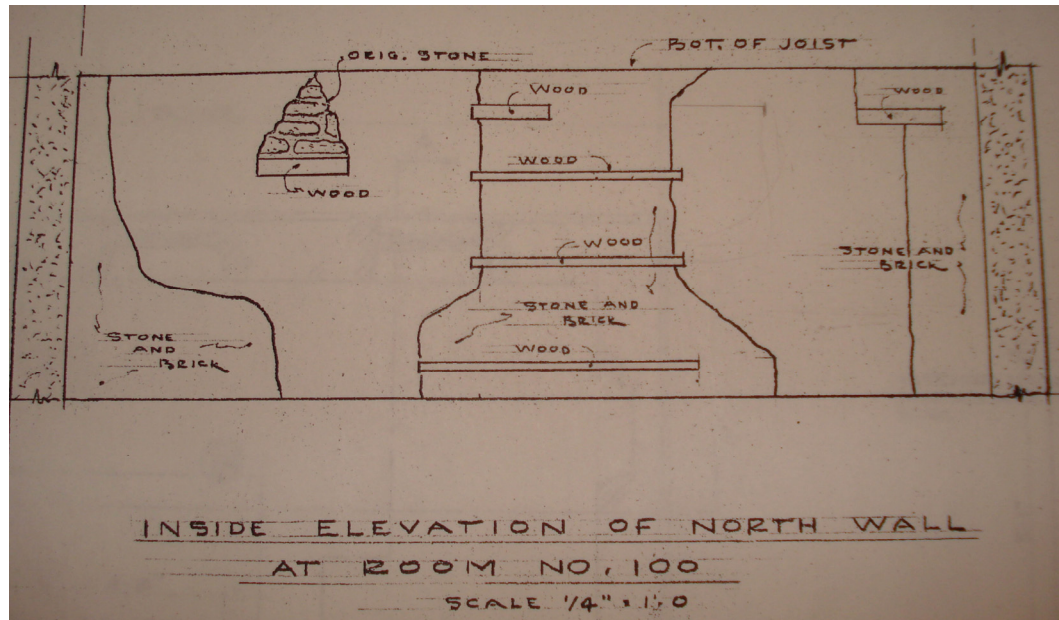


Figure V-16. Detail of “Inside Elevation of North Wall...” in Store. 5, 18, 1954. Plan M, 10 of 11. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Original Plans- Perry, Shaw & Hepburn, Kehoe & Dean, Architects. Boston, Mass.

indicate nailing strips for shelving. (Fig. V-16) If we consider the top measurement is for the cornice, and consider three shelves for the other measurements, this accounts for approximately 127.5 lineal feet of shelf space available, not counting the additional 42.5 lineal feet available on the very top. For comparison, a Virginia mercantile firm in Martin’s research had 110 feet of shelves (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 198-200). Due to the stone exterior walls, the wall depth is about 2’, allowing for a depth of about 12” in the windows, to provide additional display space for wares to entice customers into the store.

“Writing Room”

The office, or “Writing Room” (translated), referred to as the “counting room” by Martin, was usually beside or behind the “store,” with entry controlled by counter placement. In this room the merchant kept the store books, and according to Martin, often entertained customers. In Virginia stores the architectural details in this room were often finished more like a finer domestic interior, often well furnished, and often provided with a heat source, because this was a space used to woo customers. It is unclear from the evidence, if this practice of entertaining customers was practiced by the Moravians. The Salem store’s office is considerably smaller in comparison to other stores, approximately half the size of the office in a comparable size store. This probably indicates that for the Moravians, the office may have been used by store personnel only rather than for the entertainment of customers. There was apparently a flue in the northeast corner of the office which would have allowed a tile stove to be placed there to feed into this flue. Again, Martin’s research indicates that store rooms were usually not heated, but the office space was often provided with a heat source.

Sleeping Quarters

Often there was a room used as sleeping quarters for a storekeeper, close to the Store. The space which is considered to be used for that purpose is the northwest corner which would open to the office. (Fig. V-15) The measurements of this space are conjectured to be 7’ x 10’3,” or 71.75 square feet, the same size as the office. This northwest room as restored contains an exterior door on the north side of the store.

Evidence from the architectural investigation indicates that a door was in this location. (Fig. V-16) Stairs must have provided an exit to the rear of the building. This exterior door would have provided entry to the sleeping space for the storekeeper when the store was closed to customers, which according to Martin's study was a common feature in store plans. In November, 1772, when the store was operated from the Two-Story House, the following was required:

Br. Bagge will have to have a thorough understanding with Br. Heckewelder that the latter is to be in the store at the required time, nights also, and on festival days when necessary. If he should be remiss in this, Br. Bagge may complain (EC).

If the storekeeper, Heckewelder was required to be in the store at nights in the first location, it was likely required of him in the 1775 store building as well. If so, his presence on the main floor would provide needed security at night. The exterior door to this room would allow him access to his sleeping quarters after store hours.

Store Cellars

In the undated plans drawn up by Marshall, the lower level for the store consists of five spaces. (Fig. V-7) The "Store Cellar" is located to the east of the building, and is primarily below ground level, with narrow cellar windows on the east and south sides. This space measures 551 square feet. Connected to this room, is the "Cellar Vestibule (Front Cellar)" which is subdivided by stairs into two spaces, 185.25 and 243.75 square feet. The space to the north may have an exterior door, but the plans are not clear. Moving to the west, the next room is the "Unloading Space, Weighing Place, (paved),"

totaling 186 square feet. This room shows doors opposite each other on the south and the north walls. In the center of this room, the ceiling has a trap door. It appears that wagons were intended to enter this paved room from the south door, stop and unload wares through the trap door to the room above, and then pull forward and exit through the north door. The room to the far west was labeled “Warehouse for Groceries (regular floor),” measuring 310 square feet. This space was connected to the unloading space, and had an exterior door on the north wall which leads to a covered shed to be used for the storage of empty barrels and boxes. According to Marshall’s plan there was a total of 1476 square feet in store cellar and storage space on the lower level.

In the store as built, the cellar space furthest to the south/east is directly underneath residential space. (Fig. V-9) This room connects to the store cellar to the north, which appears that this was used for store not residential storage. Under the store there are two cellar rooms, one measuring 348.76, and one 219.99. The west room has an exterior door and a window on the west wall. The other two rooms have narrow cellar windows on the east and south walls. All these rooms originally had stone floors. Total cellar space for the business is 917.31 square feet. This is considerably smaller than the total amount allotted in Marshall’s plan.

Corridors

As it is unclear whether corridors were considered commercial or residential space, these areas have been examined separately. They served the important function of separating the business from the home environments. In the plan as it was constructed,

the entrance into the home led into the corridor, which would indicate that perhaps that space would be associated more with residence. However, the only stair access to the cellar from the commercial space, was in the corridor; clearly this dividing space served both home and store; while at the same time providing a buffer between the two. In 1769, before Br. Bagge had moved to Salem, and before the store was opened in its first location in the Two-story house, the *Records* provide insight into the behavior of store customers:

Marshall's report to U. E. C., Aug. 31, 1769... We at first thought of arranging the two-story house for the Sisters, at least for a few years, but the people of this land are rude, and if the Sisters were placed where strangers came to trade they would be exposed to insolence by day and night...(v. 2, 674).

It is unlikely that this rude and insolent behavior was characteristic of all store customers, but there was enough of this element for concern. The corridor separating the store from the home provided much needed social control to distance the family from undesirable situations.

An integral part of a Moravian community was a Choir System, which was based on divisions of the community into groups determined by age, gender and marital status. This system also served a purpose of keeping Single Sisters and Brothers separated from each other. In December of 1785, the records indicate that in public arenas it was sometimes difficult to maintain this separation. There is apparent concern that Anna Elisabeth, the 16-year-old daughter of Traugott and Rachel Bagge, may have caught the attention of single clerks in the store, as Bagge is cautioned to “keeping the door from the store into his living quarters shut,” and that “his daughter must not come into the store

except on errands” (EC-S). In this case the corridor served another valuable function of social control over what may have been deemed inappropriate behavior.

Residential

The typical German house-*Flurkuchenhaus* (Fig. II-4)—consists of three basic rooms; the arrangement of the rooms is usually clustered around the central chimney. Here, however, in both Marshall’s and Bagge’s plans, the three rooms are strung out in a row. Br. Bagge’s rooms, however, are larger than what Marshall proposed. Bagge’s front room is 269.19 square feet, his chamber 261.81; and the kitchen 328.81, for a total of the first floor residential space of 859.81 square feet, as compared with Marshall’s 604.50 square feet. This is significant that Bagge designed a larger area for the primary living rooms for his family, than the plan presented by Marshall. These figures provide evidence of the priorities of both Bagge and Marshall.

“Room”

To enter the residence, according to the plan Marshall suggested, the door was one of two locations on the north end of the east wall; on his plan it is impossible to distinguish between doors and windows. This space, called simply “Room” measures 248 square feet, and opens to the central corridor. There is an icon in the southwest corner of this room which may indicate some type of iron or tile stove for a heat source. For Bagge’s design, one entered the residence into the central corridor, and then into the first room, what might also be called the front parlor. This living room space was

typically for more formal gatherings, and entertaining guests. Heating for this front room was provided by a large fireplace on the west interior wall.

“Chamber”

In Marshall’s plan, the central room connects to the corridor and to the kitchen. This is the “Chamber,” and is 139.50 square feet. The west wall forms the back of the cooking fireplace in the kitchen, but there is no heat source indicated for this space. In Bagge’s plan this central room, which connected to the front room, to the kitchen, and to the corridor, measured 261.81 square feet. A corner fireplace in the north/west corner, heated this room. This space was often a multi-purpose room, used for family chores and activities, and used as the dining room. It was not unusual for there to also be a bed in this room. Knowing that Sr. Bagge became weak in her legs, it may be that there was a bed in this room for her. Br. Bagge planned a larger chamber for his family than the one designed by Marshall. Bagge’s addition of a corner fireplace also provided a warmer and more comfortable space.

“Kitchen”

The “Kitchen,” (217 square feet) according to Marshall, is the room on the northwest corner of the building. It opens to the corridor and chamber; with the cooking fireplace on the east interior wall of the room. In the store as built by Bagge specifications, the kitchen measured 328.81 square feet, with a large cooking fireplace on the east interior wall, windows on the west, and stairs to the wash kitchen below, which

stood in the south/west corner. Bagge's kitchen also opened to the chamber and the corridor, and his space was larger than that planned by Marshall.

Residential Cellars

Marshall's plan provides two rooms for family use on the lower level—a family cellar (261 sq. ft.) and a wash kitchen (290 sq. ft.), for a total of 551 square feet for family use on this floor. In Bagge's design, the wash kitchen (174.87 sq. ft.) is identified by architectural evidence from the fireplace and from notes on the 1910 drawings that label a bake oven adjacent to the fireplace. The family and domestic help have access from this room to the kitchen directly above via stairs in the southwest corner. If we assign one other space in the cellar for storage of family food, the south/central room provides 251.88 square feet for this purpose. Both of these rooms connect to the corridor which leads on one end to commercial cellar space, and to the stairs; and on the west end leads to an exterior door. Total area of 426.75 square feet, make the size of the Bagge family cellar and wash kitchen smaller than what was planned by Marshall. Although these were family spaces, they were rooms that were purely work areas and not rooms that were visited by others. Perhaps Bagge had less concern over these behind-the-scenes rooms and was more interested in prioritizing the space for his family in the rooms on the main floor that represented him and his family.

Second Floor

The upper floor of what is considered a 1 ½ story building, presents problems in analyzing the space and its usage. In 1773 in the planning of the store building, it is mentioned that “upstairs in the attic there should be a sleeping room for the family” (2 Nov, 1773. AH-EH). This is the only mention made of this level. Marshall’s plan for the store does not show a floor plan for the attic space. Further, in 1841, the attic space of the north/south gable section, was raised to a full two stories so major changes were made (the west gable remained as originally built). However, in the 1950s restoration, archaeological evidence remaining from floor joists, allowed the architects to piece together a conjectural floor plan of the space. (Appendix B, 1950s Plans, Second Floor.) According to their plan, there were 6 rooms, 5 knee-wall storage areas, and a stair hall. It is impossible to know if the floors on the attic level would have been considered either as belonging to commercial or residential space. Over time, the *Records* make mention of several people in addition to family who lived in this building. Six rooms on an upper floor was a large space by standards of this time period. Typically, attic space was also used for the storage of certain foodstuffs that required a warmer, dryer climate than the cellar. It is likely than space was allocated here both for family and store storage. The attic provides considerable living and storage capabilities for this building.

In the analysis of the Space Plan of the Store, it is the activities within that determine the function of each room. To some degree the floor levels were determined by the functions. The main floor of both home and store were the areas where the public interacted with the family and staff. The work was that of daily activities. On the lower

level, behind-the-scenes labor was conducted in both domestic and commercial spaces, labor that may have happened on a weekly or as needed basis. And the upper level was reserved for dormant activities--sleeping and storing.

Various commercial and residential activities were no doubt assessed in the planning stage, as would be true today. But often there are activities which present that do not fit within the plan. In such a case, accommodations are made as needed, which may require modifications and/or additions to a building. From the *Records*, however, it does not appear that any such significant changes were made to the store building during Bagge's lifetime.

The comparison of the two plans suggested by Marshall and Bagge sheds much light on the priorities of each. Marshall, representing the community and the church, was most interested in the Store and its operation to produce income for church missions. Bagge, who was also concerned with commercial success, had the additional, and perhaps greater interest in the spaces he was to occupy with his family. Factors of comfort were key, but status also entered into the considerations. Although the Moravians stressed equality and the rejection of worldly excesses, they recognized a class distinction, which if genuine, was acceptable. Br. Bagge, as one of the original landowners of Wachovia, and as a member of the merchant class, was likely seen as representing a wealthier class, and thus the church probably tolerated his desire for a larger and more expensive residence. They probably also recognized that if Bagge was satisfied with his living arrangements, he was better able to achieve greater commercial success. This social aspect of the material culture of the Store architecture illuminates

the juxtaposition of spirituality and commerce which is evident in the purpose of Salem—to serve as a utopian congregation town and as a backcountry commercial center.

STUFF: *Interaction of the building with the residents, staff and customers*

The primary reason for the existence of the Store building was to contain the “stuff” and the people required to handle it. According to Brand’s (1994) definition the “stuff” is the furnishings, furniture, and the items of every day life, which can move daily (p. 13). The Salem store which carried the name of Traugott Bagge was described by an anonymous writer, in 1793, as “perhaps the best assorted country store in the United States” (*The North Carolina Journal*). Through the skillful trading and purchasing of Br. Bagge the store was able to make a profit, even when other businesses were suffering. As a branch of the congregation, the store was owned by the church, and managed by Bagge. The profits were used to support the schools, the ministers, and help with general expenses of the congregation. “The store has furnished most of the money from its annual profits [for the school], for what has come from other Branches has largely been used for other purposes.” July 25, 1780 (v. 4, p. 1594).

From the “repeated instructions of our dear Saviour, Salem should remain the town in Wachovia where the chief work-shops should be located” (v. 4, p.1596-7) and the reiteration of the rules that “the Aufseher Collegium must insist that no other store is established in town” (v. 5, p. 2137), it was established that Salem was the center of commerce for Wachovia and the Store was the heart of that commerce. The business of the store involved a continuous cycle of buying and selling. Traugott Bagge was

responsible for buying up country produce, and accepting it as payment for purchases; these products were processed, packaged, and taken to market where they were sold or exchanged for manufactured goods, or profits were used to purchase goods. These imported wares were then brought back to be sold at retail. Br. Bagge as an astute merchant was making money on both ends of the trade cycle, and in this process was very much a link in the chain of international trade. The Aufseher Collegium was the board which regulated trade and commerce in Wachovia. It was an important aspect of their responsibilities to oversee the overall trade atmosphere in town, to ensure that every tradesman was able to meet the needs of the community and fulfill orders from outsiders. When there was a void in the trades, the Aufseher Collegium would seek out tradesmen to fill gaps by reaching out to other Moravian communities around the world to locate a suitable man to fulfill the needs.

In the Store we can categorize the “stuff” in two broad areas as either Residential or Commercial. There are also ways by which the “stuff” impacts the community, these are also addressed in the following discussion.

Residential Stuff

The items under the heading of Residential would include the furniture, accessories, linens, utensils, tools, clothing, and personal belongings. Unfortunately it is not known what furniture or belongings existed in the Bagge household, no probate inventory has been located. It would be possible to determine basic items that were typically in a household in this time period based on inventories from other homes. But

no known inventory exists that gives specifics to the Bagges. There is a Furniture Inventory from 1804 that provides a list of house furniture used by Br. Kreuser, who took over after Bagge died. In May 1800, before Kreuser arrived, the Aufseher Collegium observed:

Br. Kreuser is not going to find any furniture when he moves into the Store here at Salem, and we will have to lend him some in the beginning. We thought that new masters in the community branches should buy themselves new furniture and house equipment which are most necessary, and could specify these annually in their inventory (AC-EH).

Therefore this was a list of furniture that appeared in the Store after Bagge.

House furniture as Store Property which is not counted in the annual inventory. 1804 according to Br. Kreuser's account.

1	writing desk (<i>Schreib Komode</i>) with bookcase (<i>Aufsatz</i>)
1	large oval drop leaf table
2	bedsteads
1	kitchen table painted red
1	corner cupboard in the room
1	kitchen cupboard
10	green arm chairs, 2 of them with arm rests
1	small four-cornered table
1	large clothing cupboard
3	small wall cupboards between the windows
1	house clock with case
1	three-legged stool (<i>Stuhl</i>) for writing at the desk (<i>Komode</i>)

(OS. Microfilm A-31).

But to recognize that it was the same space, if we assign these pieces to the rooms where they may have been used, it provides an idea of how the home may have been furnished during the time when the Bagge family was in residence.

1804 HOUSE FURNITURE AS STORE PROPERTY		
ROOM	#	FURNITURE
“ROOM”	1	Writing desk
	1	Three-legged stool
	2	Green chairs
	2	Green chairs with arm rests
	1	Small wall cupboard
	1	Small four-cornered table
“CHAMBER”	1	House clock with case
	1	Large oval drop-leaf table
	1	Corner cupboard
	5	Green chairs
	1	Small wall cupboard
“KITCHEN”	1	Kitchen table painted red
	1	Kitchen cupboard
	1	Green chair
	1	Small wall cupboard
SECOND FLOOR	2	Bedsteads
	1	Large clothing cupboard

Table V-1. 1804 House Furniture as Store Property. Table compiled from inventory.

Although it is impossible to know where these pieces were actually used at the time of the Kreuser’s, this conjectured furnishing of the home helps visualize the rooms in use, and provides a way to bring life to the residence of Br. and Sr. Bagge, their family, and others in the home. This exercise serves as an aid in understanding how people lived and worked in various spaces. The furnishings are a means to connect people to the spaces by realizing what objects were utilized in different functions. This visualization helps flesh out the activities to gain a more complete comprehension not only of the stuff, but of the space plan, and the connection between people, furnishings and building.

Commercial Stuff

As merchandise was brought into the store for sale, customers came in to purchase, but often with commodities, not cash. Retail stores did more than just sell. They also accepted goods, and then took these goods markets to sell or exchange for other wares. In difficult economic times when money was often in short supply, systems were created to accept certain commodities at a specific value instead of cash; and tickets were used as a local system of credit, which allowed the economy to remain active through the movement of goods, both in and out of the local store. This also allowed women and slaves, who would have little resources otherwise, to participate in the market by bringing in butter, tallow, flax, and other commodities. This was not a time of self-sufficiency, as many people think. Salem was never intended to be an isolated self-sufficient community, but from the earliest planning, it was conceptualized as a trades town, with emphasis on trade. This allowed for an exchange of object for object which elucidates the exchange value as the most important characteristic of an object.

Martin's (1993) understanding of the exchange value of goods provided an excellent template for study of the Salem store, as she states, "...an exchange system is merely the trading of something one must sacrifice in order to obtain his or her more recent or more strongly felt desire, which meanwhile is the focus of another" (p.54). This rate of exchange is influenced by the "culture in which it exists" (p. 53). As Martin further explains, "Goods and products thus allow a window to the values of the societies that produced, traded, or purchased them" (p. 54). It is through this window that we glimpse to see more clearly the values of the Moravians in Salem.

For more detailed analysis, commercial objects are sub-divided into three categories: Utensils and Equipment, Exports/Products Bought, and Imports/Goods Sold.

Utensils and Equipment

The one itemized inventory that has been located is in the Moravian Archives, in German, but has been translated for this project. It is dated April 30, 1777, and identifies the tools and utensils that were part of the store property. (Appendix C, Salem Store Utensils & Equipment, April 30, 1777.) This record provides a glimpse into some of the work that was ongoing, and the tools necessary to accomplish specific jobs. Of all the items listed in the inventory, the only utensils also mentioned in the *Records*, are scales and weights and measures. These were an important part of a retail store as merchandise was not packaged for the consumer, but had to be weighed. They were also required for conducting business by most tradesmen as well. One of the jobs of the storekeeper was to weigh or measure goods for the customer, and to weigh products brought in. In 1773, in preliminary discussions about the construction of the Store, it was mentioned that:

The permanent hide house, however, would stand on a line with the living and store house right on the main street. There we shall also have the scales. The living and store house would come at the corner of the street. The apartment across from Br. Reuter [then living on Lot 64], then the store and then the permanent hide house (AC-EH).

It is difficult to determine from this entry where exactly the scales were to be placed.

Are they large outdoor scales which were literally placed on Main Street? No images or evidence would suggest that this is so. Most probably this indicates that the primary

scales in town were housed at the Store. Perhaps further research can determine where these scales were. Obviously from the inventory of equipment, the Store possessed more than one set of scales, and considering the size of merchandise sold, scales were needed of different sizes. Scales were also required for weighing coins, to complete the transaction of business. In 1773, Bagge ordered “the stamped weights and measures from Philadelphia” (GHC, v. 2, p. 774). Periodically it was necessary to test the various scales in town to assure that all were accurately weighing goods.

Exports/Products Bought

The Salem Store was much more than simply a retail business. During this time period, money was limited in its circulation and availability; it was also subject to wildly fluctuating values, particularly during the years of the Revolutionary War. Because of this, customers often brought commodities such as butter, tallow, animal skins to pay for their store purchases. This provided the individual with available “currency” and enabled many who otherwise would not have been able to engage in the world of consumerism to do so. It was a win-win situation, by enabling customers to acquire necessities such as pins and needles, coffee, tea, sugar, spices, thread, and much needed salt; it also enabled them to make purchases of desire such as fine fabrics, tea pots, wine. By paying with “country produce” they provided the store with items to process and carry to market to exchange for imported goods. These commodities were often shipped abroad to various markets. The store was taking these goods in as payment and then making money by

selling or exchanging them for other goods. A savvy merchant like Traugott Bagge was making money on both ends of the deal.

When Bagge arrived in Bethabara in February of 1768, he immediately jumped into his role as manager first of the Bethabara store (replacing Matthew Miksch), and later of both the Bethabara and Salem stores. The next month, in April, he headed to Charlestown.

...taking 3000 lbs. dressed deer-skins and 600 lbs. tallow, Bagge went also to fully acquaint himself with the business conditions there. In November the wagons made a second trip to Charlestown, taking 4400 lbs. skins, and 300 lbs. butter; two shipments were made from the store to Cross Creek, and two to Pine Tree Store. At intervals agents were sent out among the neighbors to collect debts due the store... (v. 1, p. 372-3).

Often the quantities of products taken to market are quite large. No information has been found that gives amounts that were received for these products, or their exchange value. But even without this knowledge, it is possible to determine that Bagge was successful to a large degree. In 1773,

Br. Bagge took only four wagons to Charlestown this time, for recently the stores in Cross Creek have improved, so that he secured several wagon-loads of goods from there, though as yet there is a poor assortment to select from, and little chance to dispose of the chief product of this country, that is hides. Our trade is seriously affected, but so far has been carried on successfully, thanks largely to Br. Bagge's activity and ability. This time the sale of skins was so doubtful that he decided to ship them himself to Europe, but we hope for good results from this venture... (Marshall's Report to U. E. C., v. 2, p. 762).

These products that were taken to market for export, came from residents and outsiders, often as a form of currency, with which they could then procure items from the Store:

“(Auf. Col.) For lack of money the neighbors are bringing all sorts of products to town to exchange for things they wish, such as tobacco, wool, cotton, pieces of linen, tanned hides, and the like” (April 29, 1783) (v. 4, p. 1850). On occasion as in 1785, products were accepted as rent payments, with the products then becoming part of the store trade cycle.

I [Marshall] have begun a new method for the payment of rents, and have arranged that the Branches [businesses] in Salem and Bethabara shall accept wheat, corn, rye, brandy, and tobacco from the renters and pay me with tickets until the books are balanced the next time... (v. 5, p. 2103).

Even when the Salem congregation made their payments and remittances for their contributions to Europe, they often sent products such as skins and tobacco; these commodities were safer than sending money, available when money was not, and fulfilled a desire that made them a valuable means of payment.

1785-Our remittances, which have been sent by way of Philadelphia, have become smaller as hard money in the land grows less, and now the Pennsylvania bank is to be given up. I have therefore taken the suggestions which Br. Quand made to Br. Schweinitz, and have begun to remit in dressed deer-skins, sent to Br. Deutsch in Gnadau, and as an opportunity offers will follow this with tobacco and other products. At the moment it looks as though it was best to ship by way of England, and we will try that (v. 5, p. 2103).

Skins were a successful and welcome form of payment sent to Europe until 1791, when,“(Auf. Col.). The deerskins which have been shipped to Europe have not suited Br. Deutsch, which has caused a considerable loss, and may well put an end to our trade in skins with Europe” (v. 5, p. 233). Because of this, in 1792, tobacco was sent as the

preferred export to fulfill those obligations. However, again in 1796, deerskins were desired:

(Aelt. Conf.). By the last post we had word from Br. Teursch in Gnadau that he had received the deerskins sent in 1794, and was satisfied with them. He mentioned that he could use six barrels of skins a year if they were as good as these. So far only two barrels of skins have been sent (v. 6, p. 2568).

The price paid for the country produce fluctuated with supply and demand, and the availability of currency; prices were set by agreement of the Aufseher Collegium.

After a thorough discussion it was decided that from now on only 10p should be paid for butter; and as some of the Brethren have almost no butter the store, if requested, will direct to their homes those who have butter to sell (v. 4, p. 1851).

Other products bought for trade were: skins-deer, elk, panther; furs; tanned hides; leather breeches; lard; tallow; wax; candles; flax; linen; cotton; woolen cloth; yarn; tobacco; forage; foodstuffs-flour, wheat, barley, rye, grain, chestnuts, bread, meat, hog meat, corn, cornmeal, whiskey; farm products; planks; letters and diaries. (Appendix C-Goods Sold/Products Bought). An anonymous writer in 1793, responding to a question about manufacturing and agriculture in Wachovia, then in Surry County, mentioned some of these export items and the quality which came from the Moravian towns, and surrounding area:

...As to the manufactures in the country, I have received information of near 100 looms, exclusive of those in the towns; these amply supply inhabitants with linen, and cotton fabrics of different kinds, so as to diminish greatly the consumption of calicoes and Manchester stuffs, and exclude altogether the imported coarser linens. Indeed I have seen fine linen, mixed, striped and twilled worsted stuffs, jeans, dimity, and even muslin so well manufactured in their domestic way, that if

they had the means of finishing them off in the European method, they could only have been distinguished by their superiority in strength and durability. We have only one fulling-mill now at work—several hundred yards of course woollen cloth were fulled and dyed here during the last year.

There are also three considerable tanneries besides those in the towns, and a large quantity of leather is tanned by the farmers themselves—these tanners, however, find sufficient encouragement and a ready sale for their leather in the county and adjacent part of Virginia. We have fourteen grist-mills running—seven of these are geared, manufacturing mills...

I am, &c. [[Not signed]]

(*The North Carolina Journal*).

It is noted that for some of these products, that perhaps less fabric is imported due to the quality of that produced locally. Also noted are the “large quantities of flour, wh...[[illegible]], &c, are every year carried to market” (NC Journal, 1793).

Processing of Products

Since a main aspect of income for the Salem store came from products exported, there must have been an area that was used for collecting, processing and packaging these products for market. Tools in the inventory of equipment (Appendix C-Salem Store Utensils & Equipment, April 30, 1777.), list stretchers for hides which were surely employed in preparing skins for storage and shipment. Funnels would be used for packaging into barrels. Butter, which was an important country product for export required processing for storage and shipment. An entry from August 2, 1774 indicates: “(Prov. Helf. Conf.) In the Salem and Bethabara Stores the butter that is bought shall be washed, so that it does not spoil, for as the trade in skins falls off butter becomes one of the chief products of the land” (v. 2, p. 828). Butter was salted to take to market, however, research to date has not revealed where, when and how it was washed. The

store utensils list a butter engraver. Further research delving into Salem collections might locate such an item, and answer additional questions about the processing of butter.

Another area ripe for research is to evaluate how other products like tobacco, tallow, meat, grains were processed for market, to better understand this very important aspect of preparing products to be exported.

Imports/Goods Sold

Much study in recent years has been conducted on the eighteenth-century world of consumer goods. For the number of residents in Salem, and the size of the Store, Traugott Bagge and his business operation had influence far beyond the small backcountry town, as has been seen through the glimpse into the products sold and exported. Goods imported and merchandise sold had an equally significant affect on the quality of life for Salem residents, and visiting customers to town. In May 1772, after moving the store from Bethabara to Salem, the community diary records perhaps the first trip returning from market bringing new wares for sale: “Br. Bagge returned from Charlestown, to our great delight” (v. 2, p. 681). Unfortunately, there was no mention of what brought such delight, we can only imagine!

The types of goods being imported were:

IMPORTS		
COUNTRY	TYPE OF IMPORTS	GOODS
GREAT BRITAIN	Manufactured Goods	Cloth Ready-made Clothes Hats Tools

		Utensils Earthenware Glassware
WEST INDIES (British and Non-British)	Products	Rum Molasses Sugar Salt Coffee Chocolate Pimento Negroes
	Small Quantity of Manufactured Goods	
	Small Quantity of Miscellaneous Commodities	
U. S. PORTS	West Indies Products	Molasses Rum Sugar
	British Manufactured Goods	Cloth Shoes Gunpowder Nails
	Goods of American Manufacture	Paper Cotton cards Furniture Tools Bricks
	American Foodstuffs	Bread Flour Butter Fish Brandy American-made Rum

Table V-2. List of Imports. Compiled from Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina 1763-1789*,
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When research was first begun for this project, it was mysterious why there were not a large number of invoices and trade letters addressed to Traugott Bagge. The 1780 agreement with Bagge (See Context Chapter) solves that mystery—the Diacony was actually purchasing inventory for the store, not Bagge. It was Bagge’s job to arrange and procure purchase, but it was the church that was ultimately liable for payment, therefore, invoices often are addressed to the current Vorsteher, or business manager for the congregation.

During this research, it was hoped with great anticipation, that an itemized inventory for the store would be discovered, to accurately pinpoint the merchandise available for sale on a given day, to provide a snapshot of the store business.

Unfortunately this “magic inventory” has not been located. It is known from the *Records* that inventories were conducted each year on April 30, in every branch of the Salem Diacony, including the Store. There are original “Inventarium” in Bagge’s handwriting, in English, from at least 1777 and 1780; unfortunately they list only the monetary total of the inventory, and no items. Although this is disappointing, these documents at least provide the total assets in stock for the store. A list has been compiled which lists some items sold; these items were compiled from a number of sources—trade letters, invoices, community diaries, and are far from complete, but do provide some knowledge of individual goods for sale. The list covers the years 1772-1800. (Appendix C-Goods Sold/Products Bought.)

There are however, two inventories from other Moravian store during this time—the 1773 inventory from Lititz; and the inventory from Bethlehem, ten years later. Both

locations in Pennsylvania would most likely have had similar types of merchandise because they were serving Moravian congregation towns. In Lititz, 1773, the Store inventory was L800. 9. 3 ³/₄ [English currency: Read-800 Pounds, 9 Shillings, 3 ³/₄ Pence.] Salem store in 1777 had L2952. 6. 9. Just four years later, and during the Revolutionary War, Salem's inventory was about 3.7 times greater than that of Lititz. In 1780, Salem's inventory was L3173. 5. 4, as compared with Bethlehem in 1783, of L1187.17.11 ³/₄.,(Appendix C-Bethlehem Inventory by Category.) There is three years difference; but Salem held in stock 2.7 times the stock of Bethlehem. By comparison with the Moravian towns of Bethlehem and Lititz, the little store in Salem was doing quite well.

Wares sold discussed to this point have been imported. However, Bagge also sold a few items that were made locally. The store at various times, carried items made by Salem residents, Charles Holder, Gottlieb Schober, and the Single Sisters. In 1775, the store was selling saddlery items made by Holder. When Br. Schober came into the store in 1782, he brought his work making breeches and bags:

(Auf. Col). It is the intention that Br. Schober shall be assistant in the store here...The store will take over Br. Schober's leather breeches business, and continue it for the benefit of the store, allowing him L15 extra per year for it... (v. 4, p. 1810).

And in 1784 the *Records* indicate that, "(Auf. Col.) ...Br. Bagge is no longer willing to handle the gloves made by the Single Sisters, so they shall be placed on sale with Br. Miksch" (v. 5, p. 2030). It is likely that there were also other situations similar to this

where the store was actually selling merchandise made in Salem in addition to imported goods.

Packaging of Goods and Products

Before the day of cardboard boxes and Styrofoam peanuts, packaging of goods for shipment often required the skills of a cooper. Manufactured wares arriving on board ship were contained in barrels and wooden crates and boxes; foodstuffs in casks and barrels. Wine may have arrived in half pipes; fish oil, Spermacity oil, herrings, rice, or molasses in a cask; sugar or tobacco in hogsheads; salt and tallow in barrels, coffee in bags and glass and china in boxes.

In Cross Creek the warehouse belonging to two merchants were entered; in one the goods which Br. Heckwalder recently bought for our store and packed in boxes. Two or three of these boxes were broken open and L113: worth was stolen. ... Our letters and reports are always carefully packed (Marshall's Report to U. E. C., v. 2, p. 762).

The cost of cooperage was often passed along with the cost of the merchandise, as listed in a 1784 invoice for goods purchased for Salem:

Mr Samuel Stoz,
 1784 D^r of Abra^m Markley
 Novemb^r 30th
 To 1 Cask Molasses 45 Gall @ 20d & Cask 7/.....L4 2 --
 To 1 Bll Sugar 211
 22 189 lb. Nett. @ 38/..... 3 11 9
 To 1 Bll Sugar 308
 17 291 lb. Nett. @ 34/.....4 18 10
 To 1 Cask Rice 655
 60 595 Nett @ 15/..... 4 9 2
 To Cash 2/4 & porterag 1/2..... 3 6

To 1 Bll Coffee 216				
<u>23</u> 193 Nett @ 10d.....	8	---	10	
To 1 Bll Wine 26 Gallons @ 3/3 & Cask 8/2	4	12	8	
To 18 Sides Soal Leather 200lb @ 10d.....	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>	
	L38	5	5	
By 3 Blls Tallow 698 ^{lb} Nett @ 7d... L20	7	2		
By 1 Hhd Tobacco 1064				
107 957 ^{lb} @ 23/4.....	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	
	L31	10	5	
To Inspecting & Cooperage.....	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>2 3</u>
		7	3	2
To the balance of last year.....		<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	
	L	7	6	1
Philip Vogler had on Mr. Stotz Acc ^t	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
Balance due to Markley.....	L	8	8	2

(v. 5, p. 2385).

Tools listed on the utensils inventories which were likely used for opening barrels and casks include hammers, prybar, hatchets, small crowbar, pliers, a drill and an ax. There are also containers in the inventory that may have been used for in store packaging or storage-tea canisters, powder canisters, and a metal bowl for molasses. Sacks and leather bags are also in the store inventory, and since this is a listing of equipment, it is assumed that these are not bags for sale or use by the customer in carrying wares home. It is not clear from this list or from other research whether the store staff made any containers for shipping exports, or if barrels and boxes were ordered from the local cooper. It may be that the store workers could have made a simpler wooden box for packaging, and left the

making of barrels and casks to the cooper. In August, 1777 complaint is made against

Bagge:

It has been desired that Br. Bagge would get some order into all those stones and barrels in front of his house right in the middle of the street, so that we shall have more room to drive and to ride through there. Br. Reuter is going to talk with him about the matter (AC-EH).

Why does he have barrels and stones in the front of the store? Perhaps this is where they were unloaded, rather than being unloaded in the rear. Or it might be that Bagge was leaving barrels in front of the store to attract customers. The answer is unknown, but it is clear that it was unacceptable to have such a scene of disorder on Main Street in front of the store. On the undated plan for the store, designed by Marshall, there is an area in the rear which indicated a lean-to shed attached to the exterior wall as a place for storing empty barrels and boxes. It is likely that when imported goods were unpacked, the empty containers were recycled and packed with another type of product to be sent to market. On the utensils inventory, there is listed an iron tool for marking casks. This may be a way to identify the cask as to the point of origination before shipping to market. On the August 12th, 1780 ledger listing from the store in Bethlehem: “Invoice of Sundry Goods sent on Commission to Mr. Traugott Bagge Mercht. of Salem on Acct & Risque of Bethlehem Congregation Store,” in the side margin is a symbol with a large “T B,”

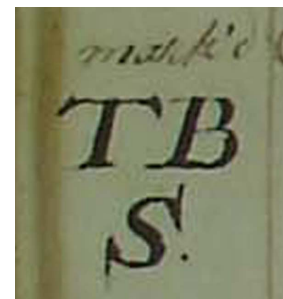


Figure V-17. Detail of Bethlehem Store Ledger, August 12, 1786. Moravian Archives-Northern Province, Bethlehem, PA. (Thank you to Paula Locklair for this tip.)

under which is an “S.” (Fig. V-17) Above this is written “markd.” This apparently indicates that the crates or barrels were so marked to indicate they were to be sent to Traugott Bagge in Salem. Every cooper was required to register his mark with the county clerk that identified his barrels to insure they were made strong enough to transport the product inside (Crittenden, 1936, p. 62-3). Perhaps the iron tool in the Salem inventory provided a similar mark for goods leaving the store.

Distribution of Goods and Products

Products were accumulated, processed and packaged until time to be loaded on a wagon headed for market in Cross Creek, Charleston, Petersburg, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, and occasionally New Bern. (Fig. V-18) The exact location varied throughout the years depending on where the best value could be obtained for products, and who had the best selection and prices on imported goods to return to Salem for sale. The following chart indicates the markets with which Bagge traded. This information has been gleaned from accounts in the *Records*.

MERCHANT BAGGE’S TRADE		
YEAR	MARKET	BAGGE LOCATION
1763	Charleston Cape Fear	
1764	Cape Fear	
1765	Charleston	
1766	Charleston	
1767		

1768	Charleston Cape Fear Pine Tree Store Hillsborough	Bethabara
1769		
1770	Charleston Cross Creek	
1771	Charleston Pine Tree Store	
1772	Charleston	Salem: Two-Story House
1773	Charleston	
1774	Charleston	
1775	Charleston Cross Creek	Salem: Store
1776	Cross Creek New Bern Philadelphia	
1777	Charleston Virginia	
1778	Cross Creek	
1779	Charleston Cross Creek New Bern	
1780	Cross Creek New Bern Philadelphia Wilmington	
1781	Pennsylvania	
1782		
1783	Pennsylvania	
1784		
1785	Charleston Philadelphia	
1786	Charleston Petersburg, VA	
1787	Charleston	
1788	Charleston Cape Fear New Bern	
1789		
1790	Cross Creek	
1791	Philadelphia	
1792	Charleston	

	Philadelphia	
1793		
1794	Petersburg, VA Philadelphia	

Table V-3. Merchant Bagge's Trade Locations. Compiled from various primary sources.

Charleston was by far the preferred market over the years. Many factors influenced which markets were selected for trade. It is of interest, the number of times in the *Records* that there are mentions of wagons leaving and arriving in Salem. This would indicate that the business of the Store was of major concern and interest for the community. The movement of goods represents the social web of material culture as objects become the means to transfer ideas through a network of people. Wagons leaving from Salem piled high with country produce, and returning loaded with manufactured goods and foodstuffs, are iconic of the exchange not only of stuff, but the exchange of concepts. These objects served to expand the world of the recipient at each end of the cycle. Br. Bagge was a mediator of sorts, serving as a link in this great chain which connected people from far-flung locations and varied cultures. It is as this connection that the Store brought people and wares into town, and carried goods out of town. The Store became a meeting point theoretically and in actuality. Goods are much more than objects bought and sold, they are “carriers of cultural communication” (Martin, 1993, p. 49). It was through these “carriers” that the Store was brought into various relationships and roles of “cultural communication,” such that these objects served to impact Salem during the Revolutionary War. These goods and products also influenced the community through Financial situations, Competition within Salem, Connections with the outside

world, and the corrupting influence of Excesses/Luxuries. These will be discussed separately.

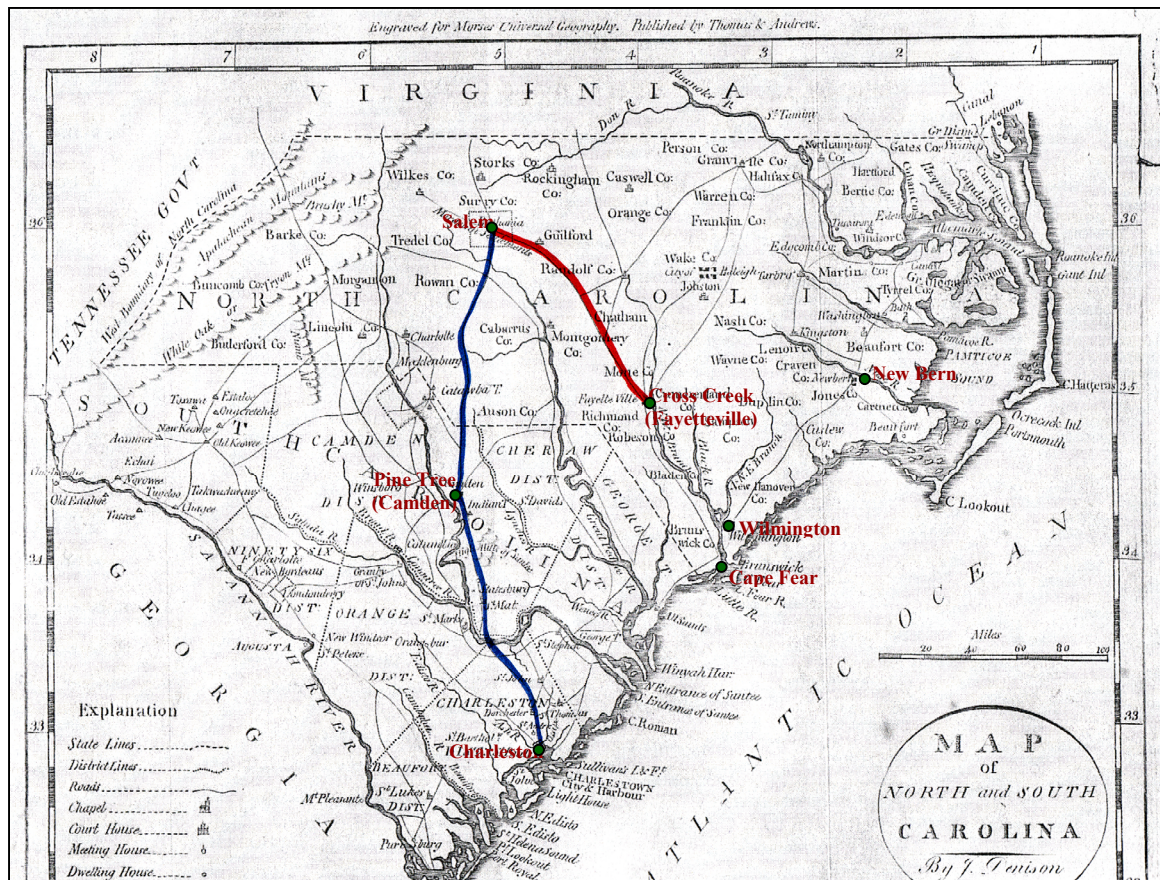


Figure V-18. 1796 Map of North and South Carolina. Denison. www.cummingmapsociety.org. With adaptations showing major trade routes. L. Culler

Ways Stuff Impacted the Community

Revolutionary War

Life for everyone changed during the years of the Revolutionary War. The first battles of the war in Lexington and Concord broke out in April, 1775, less than a month before Traugott Bagge and his family moved into their new home in the store building in

May. Much has been written about how trade between England and her colonies and heavy taxation on imported goods may have been the spark that lit the American Revolution. Events such as the Boston Tea Party, December 16, 1773, may have been far away in miles, but the effects were felt even in backcountry North Carolina. Bagge in one of his accounts of the war remarks:

During the years 1773 and 1774 the quarrel between Great Britain and the colonies continued, because of a new Act of the English Parliament which required that all tea shipped to America must have first paid a tax in England. All the colonies resented this, and when the East India company sent shiploads of tea into the chief harbors, intending to open a warehouse in each place, the ships were nowhere well received. In Boston a mob seized the tea and threw it into the water; in Charlestown it was locked up in a warehouse, where much of it spoiled, at least none was sold after the War had broken out. As North Carolina had no good harbor nor commercially important city on the sea, no such tea came here, and most of the people considered the acts of the other Colonies as madness, though there were some who approved of what had been done. ... (v.2, p. 808).

In February 1775 it was determined by the Helfer Conferenz that:

Br. Bonn suggests that the Brethren and Sisters should be careful about buying and drinking tea, so that they do not give occasion for criticism to travelers or visitors; announcement will be made to the members that the store will sell tea only until the 12th of March” (v. 2, p. 895).

It is important to understand the difficult position in which they Moravians found themselves—their land was purchased from Lord Granville, one of the eight English Lord Proprietors; part of their church doctrine required that they obey the government, which according to Scripture, they believed was permitted by God; the fact that some residents were indeed English; and that the Wachovia Moravians had ties with fellow Moravians in Great Britain—which led many to lean toward the established government.

Br. Bagge, however, recognized the hazard of this viewpoint as he commented that many fellow Brethren “were too much and too ignorantly in favor of the old Government, and let this be seen openly” (v. 3, p. 1129). However, in Bethania, a Moravian country congregation primarily of those of English birth, “embraced the cause of liberty” (James, 1976, p. 59). The confused position of the Moravians may be best illustrated in the Salem occurrence of February 6, 1777:

Several Brethren from the Aufseher Collegium met, and spoke with two of our boys, Stauber and Gottlob Krause, who recently when bringing water shouted very loudly, the one: “Hurra, King George!” and the other: “Washington” (v. 3, p. 1140)!

Indeed, the ownership of their land, did give Moravians reason to be concerned, as the desirability of the land, contributed to the question of their ownership. The legislature in 1782, confirmed that they had legitimate deed, and it was not subject to confiscation, but it continued to be challenged for more than half a century, and was brought before the state Supreme Court seven times before the title was finally cleared as belonging to the Moravians (James, 1976, p. 61).

The demands from troops were significant. Even though Salem was still a very small town, the presence of the store and many trade shops made Salem a location that became known for having provisions when there were shortages in other places. And since the Moravians held to a pacifist belief, they participated in the fight for freedom, sometimes willingly, and other times by force, by attempting to fulfill all orders for supplies that were made of them. In this role, Traugott Bagge took the lead; his knowledge of trade connections, and his adeptness at procuring provisions and supplies

put him at the center of the effort. His knowledge and skills were recognized by outsiders as he was often consulted by them. Probably his keen awareness of the events of the war was a result of his connectedness with the outside world:

Capt. Heinrich Herrman himself came to Br. Bagge, asked his opinion about present conditions in the land, and whether we would not set ourselves against them and join the other party? It does not accord with our character as Brethren to mix in such political affairs, we are children of peace, and wish peace with all men; whatever God lays upon us that will we bear, etc.; and with this as answer he left... Jan 7, 1776 (v. 3, 1044-5)

Although Bagge often exhibited strained relationships with his subordinates in the store, he apparently possessed a diplomatic ability to maintain a delicate balance in negotiations with officers and soldiers. His language fluency in English was an additional asset at this time, which thrust upon him a role of leadership in political as well as commercial matters. While the Moravians considered themselves “children of peace” who should not engage in political affairs, Bagge’s adeptness in defusing a situation became recognized as a means to maintain as much peace as was possible. However, this role often placed Bagge and his family in the way of great danger, as on the seventeenth of February, 1781:

This was a hard day, and the powers of darkness made themselves felt. It was also a day of marvelous help from our dear Lord, Who comforted and strengthened us in our affliction...

Today Hammond and Peddygrew left with Pickens’ men; we furnished them with a barrel of whiskey and two steers. They took the tanner’s horse with them; the store horse and the doctor’s horse ran away from them during the night. The noise in town continued from morning to night; much was taken without payment or receipt. A Brother was stopped on the street, his coat was taken off his back and stolen; hardly one house remained unrobed. The above-mentioned band was the worst. They had written down the names of Brethren whom they particularly wanted to injure. Br. Yarrell escaped their hands through the aid of the officers. Br. Bagge was twice saved from them when they had a pistol at his

breast, and the other rescues of Brethren and Sisters can be enumerated... The foreman was at once willing to help us all he could, tried to straighten things out, and he and one of his under-officers spent the night at Br. Bagge's, with the intention of protecting him, and while nothing was attempted their presence doubtless had a good effect... it was a wonder of God that Salem was not totally plundered, and that no Brother suffered bodily injury... (v. 4, p. 1678-9).

It was because of Traugott Bagge, that Col. Martin Armstrong, to a large degree, became a friend and protector of the Moravians.

...we may thank God, Bagge wrote, 'that a man like Col. Martin Armstrong was and remained chief officer of Surry County throughout the war, for while sometimes need forced him to order, or have ordered, from us articles which were a loss to us, yet in general it was in his heart to make things as convenient as possible for us' (v. 3, p. 1028).

In June, 1776, Bagge was in Charleston, procuring goods for the Salem Store, when the battle at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, occurred which ended in British loss, and the beginning of two years of military occurrences in Charleston. Bagge was able to escape, with his loaded wagons, along with the exodus of many Charlestonians. His awareness, and quick response, allowed him safe return to Salem, in what may have been a disastrous situation. (For a full account of the story in Bagge's words, See-Bagge Manuscript, 1776, *Records*, v. 3, p. 1031, 2.) The availability of goods in Salem during the War years creates the environment that the pacifist Moravians became embroiled in politics. Because of Bagge's purchasing power, the Store in Salem had quantities of goods that were not available other places. Since it was largely because of the wares available in Salem that the town became so important to troops for provisions, it is evident that there was a great impact on the community.

Finances

The Salem store served as more than simply a retail outlet and storehouse for products to go to market. In this time before there was a bank in Salem the store filled the role of the local financial intuition. Due to lack of currency, the store did at time offer credit to individuals. Traugott Bagge was responsible for collecting all the tickets issued by troops for payment, the devalued paper money, and clipped and shaved coins, and turning these in for goods:

...They reached Cross Creek just in time, before news of the unfortunate battle had been received, and so were able to exchange their large store of Congress money for salt... (SSD- v. 4, p. 1559-60).

to pay taxes, as seen in 1783:

(Auf. Col.) Threats have been made against Salem, the pretext being that the new paper money is refused. It will be necessary to receive it in the shops, but it will be better not to let it circulate in town but store it up for the paying of taxes... (v. 4, p. 1858).

and to make remittances to Europe:

Our negotiations in New York concerning the British tickets [[see *Records*, v. IV, 1848]] which amount to L743 Sterling, promised so well that we have expected the final decision with each letter, and with this in view have promised to make various payments in Europe... (v. 5, p. 2045-6).

When the sending of money to Europe became difficult in 1785, the payments took other forms:

Our remittances, which have been sent by way of Philadelphia, have become smaller as hard money in the land grows less, and now the Pennsylvania bank is to be given up. I have therefore taken the suggestions which Br. Quand made to Br. Schweinitz, and have begun to remit in dressed deer-skins, sent to Br. Teutsch in Gnadau, and as an opportunity offers will follow this with tobacco and other products. At the moment it looks as though it was best to ship by way of England, and we will try that (v. 5, p. 2103).

To regulate the wildly fluctuating value of currency, steps were taken to calm the volatility of the market: “Prices in the Branches can be raised in making sales, to reduce the loss” (v. 4, p. 1858). But Br. Bagge and his storekeeper Br. Biwighausen were accused of depreciating the value of money, and were tried in February, 1785.

Br. Bagge’s trial came first and lasted four hours. Three lawyers, who had not been engaged, spoke for him of their own accord, and bore public witness that the Brethren were of real value to the State. Those who stood around expected nothing other than that he would be released as cleared, but the jury found him guilty, and he was fined L50. Through this trial it was understood that Br. Biwighausen was also guilty, but he was fined only one penny... (v. 5, p. 2074).

Counterfeit money was a constant problem, and it was Bagge’s responsibility to be aware of such bills:

(Congregation Council)
Counterfeit currency shall not be received or paid out knowingly. If any man is doubtful about a bill he shall take it to Br. Bagge for inspection, for Br. Bagge has been appointed for this county to write the word *Counterfeit* across any false bill. 16 Nov 1780 (v. 4, p. 1609).



Figure V-19. Counterfeit currency confiscated by Bagge. *Old Salem Guidebook*, 50. Original-Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

Indeed such a bill is in the collection of Old Salem, on which is handwritten “Counterfeit, condemned by me. Traugott Bagge.” (Fig.V-19) It would probably not be accurate to consider Bagge a banker, but he was performing many duties which would be conducted by a financial institution. Although Bagge was cautioned in 1777 that he “should never act without communicating with Auf. Col., e. g. borrow or loan money,” (ECS) he did on occasion extend loans. In February, 1778:

Col. Joseph Williams brought Br. Bagge a letter from Mr. Lanier. It stated that the last Assembly had granted Capt. Roberson a sum of money but there was none to give him, and he asked Br. Bagge to lend him L500: for two months. There was only about L120: available here, but this was given to him and he was content (v. 3, p. 1222-3).

In 1784, when problems developed because some well-intended men in town were plugging silver pieces, it was determined that since,

There was an old resolution that all underweight silver pieces should be kept, and sold to the silversmith as opportunity offered, but because of certain difficulties this rule cannot be enforced, though it shall be made known that this would be the best for our common good. Br. Bagge offered to take such money from the Brethren and Sisters in exchange for goods (v. 5, p. 2041).

Due to the continuing problem with clipped coins, in 1791 Brs. Bagge, Stotz and Blum established a table which set the values for these coins (v. 5, 2336). Two years later the problem was addressed again:

(Cong. Council.) If we accept the clipped silver coins as equal to the paper currency all the clipped coins will gather here in our town. If the rate of exchange is lowered, as proposed, it may be expected that clipped coins will disappear, for whoever clips a silver dollar will lose by it. Some of the Brethren say that there is

no lack of round coins of small denomination. A table was presented, in which the pennyweight was reckoned at five pence, and it was unanimously decided to hold the clipped coins at this value in future. Brethren who handle much money may make a copy of this table. Much of the clipped money is overweight, and Brethren who have many such coins will lose more if they dispose of them singly than if they sell them in a lump, for in the latter case the overweight will count. Br. Bagge agrees to exchange clipped coins for round, or in case he does not have enough round coins he will give a ticket. In many places coppers have depreciated, but as they have the full value they shall circulate as hitherto (v. 6, p. 2478).

Finally in 1795, it was determined that, “(Auf. Col.) Br. Bagge reported that he had found difficulty in Philadelphia in using plugged coins, so we decided that no more of them shall be accepted...” (v. 6, p. 2540). It is impossible to imagine the difficulty of conducting business with all the complicated monetary systems, and oscillating values of currency. Even an excess of money created a problem in 1794:

(Auf. Col.) The large amount of paper money in town is making trouble, and since little or none is accepted at the store the country people are much annoyed. We tried to find a middle way, so that we would not get too much and still might avoid the complaints. We decided to recommend that the store still insist on hard money, but if a person bought more than he had hard money to pay for the balance might be taken in paper money (v. 6, p. 2510).

In 1785, a system was established which essentially created a local currency by employing the use of tickets:

(Auf. Col.)...The use of tickets is very advantageous for us, for outsiders pay their bills here in town with them more promptly than if they received money. Moreover it prevents the idea that we have a surplus of cash. On the other hand it is necessary that the tickets are paid promptly on request, and that we maintain our credit among ourselves (v. 5, p. 2099).

If we consider currency in all forms to be part of the commercial “stuff,” it is evident that there was a huge effect on the congregation town. Although trade was one of the primary reasons for settling in Wachovia, it would have been impossible for the founders to envision the financial problems that would arise from the fluctuations and shortages of currency.

According to the theocratic systems set up in Salem, the Aufseher Collegium held the responsibility of maintaining and monitoring commercial order. It was their job to set prices in town for retail and trades to assure that business was being conducted to be successful. But during the difficult tumultuous years of war, with great uncertainty in procurement of wares and wild fluctuations in currency, the Aufseher Collegium was tested in setting prices, such that in 1779 when Br. Bagge requested permission to raise the price of coffee and sugar the Collegium tacitly agreed “because it is a matter of the merchants to have the prices lowered and to have them raised” (James, 1976, p. 73). During the war years, the business problem was the paper currency more than the availability of goods. January 9, 1778, Bishop Graff explains that

...confusion increases among the people because all are intent on getting rid of their new money; in Bethabara a man sold a barrel of tar for 10 shillings silver rather than take 48 shillings Congress money, and so it goes with everything. Br. Bagge thinks he will entirely stop the sale of certain articles (v. 3, p. 1218).

The desire for goods created a need for financing. This combined with the lack of currency provided an environment where creative finances were commonplace. Martin (1993) considers objects as “products in exchange systems,” and as “commodities with exchange values” (in a, p. 46), representing her concepts of affordability and availability.

The exchange value is affected by the culture, according to Martin. The desirability of goods created the need for financing to acquire objects. In order to continue the cycle of goods and products in and out of Salem, exchange was a crucial aspect of the Store's purpose, and therefore explains how the role of Store financing affected the community by allowing trade to continue when economic conditions may have otherwise brought a halt to business.

Competition

The Aufseher Collegium had the authority to limit competition; to guarantee existing trades were not damaged by other threatening businesses. This was the case with the Store. In 1780 the Aufseher Collegium reminded the community of the following guidelines:

No one except the store should carry goods for retail...The old rule should be followed, and when store goods are offered in exchange at the work-shops the person offering should be sent to the store. If the store buys, a certificate or ticket can be given, which can be used at the work-shop and later redeemed by the store. If the store does not buy, no one shall. Each man may buy what he needs for his household or shop, and where he can do it best. The Brothers House Vorsteher may keep a supply of sugar, coffee, etc. for the Brethren working for the House, but shall sell nothing to other Brethren in the House unless he buys in quantity and sells without profit, or it is something which the store does not keep in stock. No one in town except the store shall accept store goods to sell on commission... (v. 4, p. 1596-7).

The fact that Traugott Bagge was for much of his tenure in Salem, the chairman of the Aufseher Collegium, seems a conflict of interest. However, he was fulfilling the rules that were understood and accepted to be part of the Moravian culture. The job of the

merchant was, “someone [who] trades and sells the wares with the merchant’s profit by the pound or by the yard” (Auf, Col. –EH). Although it was made clear to all that there was to be only one store in town, there were various people who tried to test the rules which attempted to limit competition. In 1780, “Br. Bagge presented a written statement that today Br. Yarrell had traded with certain strangers for nails, steel coffee, and allspice in exchange for breeches leather” (v. 4, p. 1596-7).

Occasionally competition came from outsiders coming into town, who were not under the authority of the Aufseher Collegium.

(Auf. Col.) Two traders have been here recently who wished to put their goods on display for three or four days. They spoke to Br. Bagge, who did not forbid them to sell, but did not encourage them to display their wares for so long a time. They did not show anything of much value, nor did they offer to sell cheap; but some of the Brethren and Sisters thought they might have goods for sale which would be serviceable in this time of scarcity, and did not like what was done. It was decided that in future such traders may be permitted to show their wares for one day, but not for two or three; Br. Bagge is not forbidden to buy from them in quantity for the store. Brethren may buy for others in town, but may not buy to sell at a profit, or carry on a private trade with them (v. 4, p. 1611).

And at other times, soldiers and Negroes were in town illegally selling merchandise, “to the disturbance of the Congregation, it was announced in Congregation Council that no one should buy from such a person...” (AC, v. 2, p. 828). Occasionally, the complaint involving the no-compete rule swung the opposite direction, for example, in 1785, when Br. Charles Holder complained that Bagge was carrying items in the store that infringed on his business:

...A letter from Charles Holder was read. He complains that saddles are on sale in the store, and that he has nothing to make except horse collars and bridles.

Charles Holder has not made the saddles ordered from him, nor is there a sufficient stock of saddles on hand for sale, so we can do nothing in the matter. If a man cannot make enough articles to satisfy his customers he cannot prevent another from selling the wares which he should make in his shop (v. 5, p. 2092).

In this case, the ruling sided with Bagge and the store because it was determined that Holder was not keeping up with his business, so he had no grounds on which to complain.

But the greatest infraction to this rule of no competition came from within the community from Br. Gottlieb Schober. His natural talents in trading were first recognized in 1782, at which time it was determined that those skills would be an asset in the Store. Schober began working as an assistant in the store in 1782, learning the “tricks of the trade” from Br. Bagge. However, the two had a falling out in 1785, and Schober asked to leave the store. Shortly after, in 1786,

It was brought out that he [Schober] was trying to establish a small shop in addition to his trade; that he had already brought in snuff boxes, silver shirt-buttons, and knives for sale; that he had ordered chocolate for sale; that he had offered to order all kinds of things for the Brethren and Sisters; that he had approached people on the streets who had brought tallow and wax to town, and had offered a higher price than was being paid by others, whereby the price of those articles was raised; and that he planned to export those things. The Collegium thinks he should be spoken with, and definitely reminded that from the first he had been told that he could not carry on a mercantile business (v. 5, p. 2145).

He was reprimanded; but to no avail—his clandestine trading continued at least until

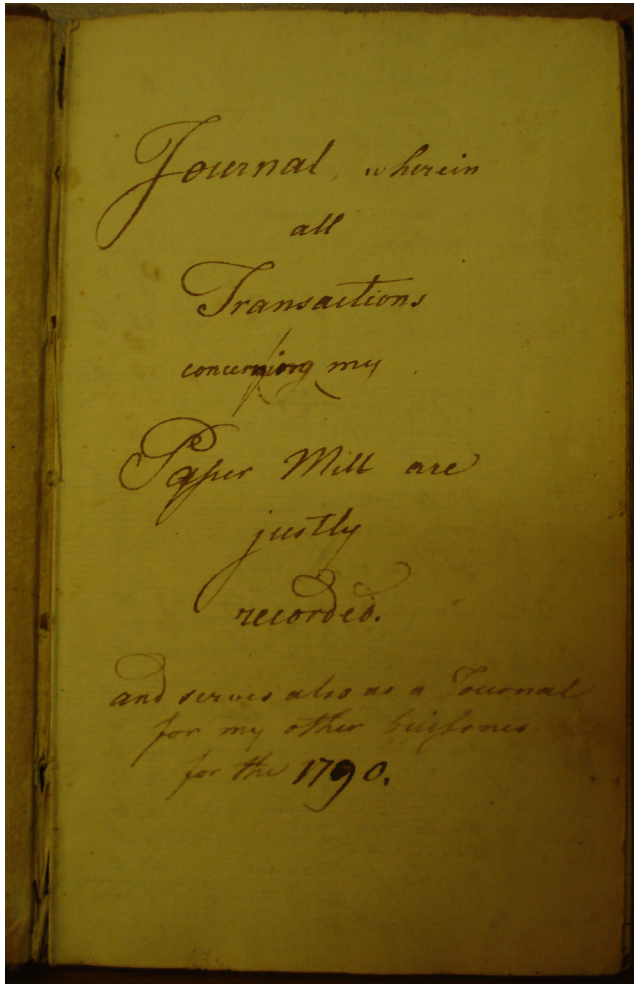


Figure V-20. "Journal wherein all Transactions concerning my Paper Mill are justly recorded. and serves also as a Journal for my other business for the 1790." Gottlieb Schober. Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

1791, two years after the Aufseher Collegium said that he "has no more the character of a Brother" (Auf. Col.-EH), and threatened to dismiss him from the community if his behavior did not stop:

Br. Schober's declaration... was read. He agrees to the demands of the memoranda and promises to avoid the retail selling of the wares which he has still in stock if he could really sell them all together ... They shall tell him once more that he shall sell the wares all together without regard of a profit (AC-EH).

After 1791, perhaps Br. Schober began spending more time tending to the paper mill because there do not

appear to be further trading violations. It is important to understand that although the ruling board restricted business activity by individuals who were in competition, the Aufseher Collegium did not restrict the purchasing activities of individuals:

(Auf. Col.)...It is not the intention to force Brethren and Sisters to buy everything at the store. They may buy where they please, but the Aufseher Collegium must insist that no other store is established in town (v. 5, p. 2137).

In 1798, one more request was voiced by a tradesman to curtail the items sold at the store that he believed were an infringement on his trade:

(Auf. Col.) Br. Becker has established himself in the Brothers House, where he will make breeches and gloves, and he asks that no more of these wares may be sold in the store. Br. Bagge says that the store will not handle anything that Br. Becker can make, but there is one kind of glove, made of sheep leather, which he cannot make for lack of the leather and because they are so cheap, and as there is much demand for them Br. Bagge thinks the store should continue to supply them... (v. 6, p. 2609).

It is assumed that there are other situations similar to this that surfaced from time to time. It was not until long after Bagge's death in 1800, that there seems to be a significant change in this concept of monopoly for the store. In January 1831, the Aufseher Collegium finally allowed a second store to be opened by Theodore Pfohl on lots 37-38, on Main Street. On July 31, 1837, the "old store" was sold to Johann Jacob Blum, and the new store was sold to Pfohl, and ended the church ownership of the business. But these stores still enjoyed the protection of church control such that no other stores were allowed to open in town.

On occasion, someone would come into town with a wagon with apples or other produce for sale. In 1781 it was suggested that a public market should be established. Again in 1783, the idea was brought up: "(Auf. Col.)...A market-house would be very useful, though there is no prospect of one just now..." (v. 4, p. 1853). However, it was not until three years after Bagge died, in 1803, that a Market-Firehouse was constructed

on the west side of the Square, facing Main Street. This building had two sections, one for storing of the fire engines, fire buckets, and other equipment for extinguishing fires; the other was a market for selling fresh meat.

Desirability contributed to competition for the Store. Even though the church sanctioned the Store's monopoly, customers continually desired goods and so were enticed by other sources of wares. Competition from Br. Schober was an example of an individual attempting to challenge the cultural systems that were in place. This testing of communally sanctioned rules was an early sign of the weakening of Salem's theocracy, as American individualism challenged the status quo. Eventually competition was welcomed as commerce expanded to include the Market-Firehouse and other store locations in town. But during Br. Bagge's tenure, he and the church seemed to have a stronghold on the mercantile business that kept competition to a minimum.

Connections

In addition to basic retail operations, the Store also served as a connector—in its small but significant role as a link in the great chain of worldwide trade; and as the thread that bound the Moravians in Salem, to the international congregations of the Unity of Brethren. During the years of this study 1775 to 1800, there were Moravians communities all over the world. (For a list, See Chapter III.) To recognize the international extent of the Unity of Brethren is important for three reasons: 1) To show the number of Moravians in the eighteenth century world, and the far-flung regions which were under the influence and culture of the Moravian church; 2) To highlight areas were

there were contacts and sources that could enable trade; and 3) To indicate Traugott Bagge's personal knowledge of these locations, and indeed his first-hand familiarity with many of them. Br. Bagge had been associated with Moravians in Germany, the Netherlands, and England. Further more, Bagge had a connection with this very list, as it was compiled from "*A Short HISTORICAL ACCOUNT about the present CONSTITUTION of the Protestant UNITY of the BRETHREN of the Augustan Confession*" (v. 3; 977-1018). This document was originally written by Bishop Spangenberg, printed in German at Francfort and Leipzig, in 1778, but it was Traugott Bagge who translated it into English, for the "visitors of distinction" coming to Salem to visit. (For the complete account, see *Records*, v. 3, p. 978-1018, where it is "copied in full because of the information it gives as to the international character of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church, its ideals and organization, all of which were of vital import to the Brethren in North Carolina..." (Fries, v. 3, p. 977).

Another source of connection were the wagons which were traveling to and from with goods and products for the Store, they also were the carriers of letters, *Nachrichten*, Text Books, Hymn Books, and other documents which bound these Brethren and Sisters to one another. In July 1785, the diaries record some of the news which was a source of joy, and sometimes sorrow, for the residents in Salem.

Yesterday evening the two Conrads arrived in Bethania with their wagons, returning from Philadelphia. This morning we had the pleasure of receiving from them the first letters and *Nachrichten* which we have had from Pennsylvania and Europe this year, and a sufficient supply of the Text Books for this year, also two copies of the new, printed Choral Book. From the letters and *Nachrichten* we learned much that interested us;--for example, the intended visitation of Br. Reichel in the East Indies; the withdrawal of our Indian congregation from the

Huron River, and its return to the neighborhood of the Muskingum River, where Congress* has restored to them their property at three places; the intended opening next fall of a higher school at Nazareth Hall; the marriage of Br. Lorenz Bagge [[brother of Traugott Bagge]] to the single Sr. Benigna Hessler, and his appointment as pastor at Emmaus; and especially the plan of our Br. Johannes [von Watteville] and his party to visit us in September, if the Lord will. This news was received with great joy in all our congregations and the necessary arrangements for assistance in his journey were at once discussed by the Conference (Footnote-*On May 20, 1785. v. 5, p. 2083).

At a time when news was at best slow and unreliable, this bond with their spiritual brothers and Sisters, as well as familial siblings, informed their decisions, provided encouragement, and supplied purpose to their daily life. This connection may have been as important to the Moravians as the goods which supplied necessities of life and luxuries for enjoyment. Although there was no profit in the delivery of these papers and books, it is very important to stress the Store's involvement in this crucial link with the outside world. And often through these letters they were informed of news and events around the world which affected life in a small backcountry town.

This feeling of connection was extended to the secular world as well. As early as 1772, when Salem was still in its infancy:

It has been proposed that a messenger go to Cross Creek each month to bring the Wilmington paper, and letters for the district from Salisbury to Salem and beyond. It was agreed that we take part in this effort to benefit the land, and we will subscribe for three papers,--for the Store, the Brothers House, and the Tavern (v. 2, p. 706).

Not only was this a way for the merchant and storekeepers to keep abreast of events, but would have established the Store as a location for residents and visitors to come for the

latest news of the times. Salem's involvement in sending letters from an early time was firmly established when in 1792, the delivery of mail became more reliable:

We must also mention with thankfulness the establishment of postal service. According to a resolution of the Congress of the United States this long-wished-for arrangement was completed and put into operation. We were glad that a postman riding from Halifax to Salisbury would pass through Salem. Our Br. Gottlieb Schober was appointed postmaster, and we made the first use of the post to send letters to Pennsylvania, and hope by it also to keep in touch with the political news (v. 5, p. 2362).

This new responsibility of Schober's, along with running the paper mill, perhaps was the final end of his illicit trading.

The movement of store goods in and out of Salem was also a means of the town's connection with the outside world, not only through the exchange of goods, but also through the exchange of letters and newsletters with other Moravian congregations. Trade produced a network of social systems in this country and abroad, that served to keep Salem in touch with the worldwide Moravian community. The wagons traveling to and fro for the Store served literally and figuratively as a vehicle for this connection.

Excesses/Luxuries

But how did the store affect the material culture of the residents of Salem? One aspect of the material culture jumped off the pages of the *Records*—the worldliness of clothing that was first mentioned in 1780. The problem continued and was discussed again in 1782, 1786, and 1787. During this period the inventory in the Salem Store increased from L3173. 5. 4 in 1780; to L5335.13. 7 ½ in 1784; to L6401.--. 2 in 1785;

then, was down slightly in 1786 to L5149.19. 9. To look at the wares sold during these years according to the items compiled, the goods include foodstuffs, materials and tools for trades, sewing supplies, books, finished articles of clothing, paper, skins, nails, building materials, spectacles, china, saddles, pots, kettles, oranges, paint supplies, musical instruments, and fabrics. If we examine the inventories from Lititz and Bethlehem, fabrics are a significant portion of the stock. In Lititz, there are listed at least 48 types of fabrics, amounting to a minimum of 2,241 yards; Bethlehem accounts for at least 43 types of fabrics, and a minimum of 1,049 yards. Two invoices from Bethlehem list several fabrics, along with other merchandise, for the store in Salem. In 1783, there are at least 21 different types of fabric, most of which are recorded as pieces rather than yards, accounting for a total of 40 pieces and 381 yards. There was a much smaller quantity purchased from Bethlehem in 1786: 4 types of fabric for a total of 24 pieces and 132.75yards. Salem was certainly not receiving all their merchandise from Bethlehem;

STORE INVENTORIES AT LITITZ, SALEM, BETHLEHEM			
LOCATION	YEAR	STOCK L. s. d	PROFIT/(LOSS)
LITITZ	1773	800. 9. 3 3/4	
SALEM	1777	2952. 6. 9	1060.10. 9
	1780	3173. 5. 4	(663. 6.10)
BETHLEHEM	1783	1187.17.11 3/4	
SALEM	1784	5335.13. 7 1/2	2495.15. 8
	1785	6401.---. 2	3212. 6. 6
	1786	5149.19. 9	1945. 1. 9

Table V-4. Inventories from Moravian Stores in Lititz, Salem, & Bethlehem. Compiled from various primary documents.

most of their trade was with cities on the North and South Carolina coasts. Perhaps further research into merchants in Cross Creek (Fayetteville) and Charleston could reveal invoices to more fully determine what goods were being bought and sold in Salem. The focus on fabrics here is to understand the relationship between the store and the customers.

“Unseemly” fashion in Salem was a source of much discussion in 1781, 1782, 1786 and 1787. In August, 1781, a letter reaches Salem from the Unity’s Elders Conference at Barby, which was addressed and sent to all Moravian congregations. It did not reach Salem until September the following year. This general letter reminded Moravians of the life they were to lead in service of their Lord. These guidelines provide the expected behavior to be living according to “brotherly” examples:

...Oh how we would thank and praise God if there were in each Congregation a group of Brethren and Sisters, known not only to God but also to the Congregation, not only single but married as well, who had dedicated themselves to be of service to the Lord in His kingdom. Then each would seek to have the spirit: I will try to be of real use to the Congregation, so long as I am a member of it;...I will be faithful in my present calling, and I will do the work expected of me with industry and loyalty; in food and drink I will be content with what is necessary, and not accustom myself with luxury; I will not use my salary for clothing which does not suit my origin and education, but will keep myself in accordance with my condition in life. [A General Letter from the Unity’s Elders Conference at Barby to the Moravian Congregations. Dated September 13, 1780] (v. 4, p. 1494-1497). [[This letter does not reach the Salem congregation until Aug., 1781; see entries Aug. 28, and Sept. 5, 1781]]

This letter was read to the Salem congregation in the morning meeting of August 28, 1781, to remind the residents of their calling, and of their status. Salem, which was considered a “Congregation-Place” (v. 3, p. 980) was a closed congregation town whose

residency was limited to approved members of the Unity of Brethren, or Moravian church. As a theocratic town, every aspect of life was governed by church ruling boards. Each resident signed a Brotherly Agreement which outlined the expectations of life in such a town. The residents of Salem were held to a higher level to provide an example to the country congregations and to outsiders. Perhaps this is why the diary entry of September 5 states that, "The circular from the Unity's Elders Conference to the congregation towns shall not be read in Bethania or the country congregations" (v. 4, p. 1728). This "admonition to all Brethren and Sisters to make our lives in all respects, through the grace of the Saviour, accord with our calling" (v. 4, p. 1728), was directed at those in Salem, who had agreed to live to a higher standard, in their "city on a hill." In April and May the following year, the *Records* indicate that these admonitions had been forgotten: "(Aelt. Conf.) Several of the Brethren have adopted a new and unseemly fashion of dress, and it will be well to speak of it in Congregation Council, and draw attention to the fact that in dress also we should not follow the world" (v. 4, p. 1803). And again the discussion is brought up the next year in May, 1782: "In general one can say little here about foolish clothing, though now and then certain persons show a desire to follow the fashion. The evil of individuals usually shows itself in dress, as one has seen at certain times in the leggings and ruffs" (v. 4, p. 1804). In June, 1786, four years later, the concern in extravagant dress is directed at the apprentices:

We agreed that it is harmful for boys to be in position to buy things without the approval of their masters. It would be well if they would deposit the money they have with their masters or supervisors, and then they could be guarded against unnecessary and useless expenditures, and their little savings could be better protected. Without the master's consent parents should not give their sons money

for the purchase of clothing. Parents and masters shall be admonished not to allow the boys to dress above their station, but modestly, lest they acquire an early taste for pride in clothing (v. 5, p. 2139).

In 1787, six years after the original letter, the problem continued: “(Aelt. Conf.) The new fashions which are slipping in among us shall be considered, item by item, in the Helfer Conferenz, and shall be put on record” (v. 5, p. 2177). By February the list of fashion offenses were listed line by line (v. 5, 2177-8). The people of Salem were reminded that this issue dated back to 1775:

In this connection an earnest reminder was given that in the Synodal Minutes of 1775 the craftsmen, and especially the tailors, were urged not to support this following of fashion, but when something of the kind was ordered from them to give notice of it, so that no fashionable clothing may be used among us. It was remarked that action has already been taken in the past along this line; and that it is easy here to stick to our simple dress, of which we have no need to be ashamed before any man, be he the highest in the land. Our craftsmen, therefore, must allow themselves to be instructed to accept no work which calls for new fashion (v. 5, p. 2177-8).

The craftsmen in town were reprimanded for their part in contributing to this “lust for fashionable apparel” (v. 5, p. 2177-8). But it is important to note that there is clearly a class distinction here:

Poor Brethren and Sisteren do not need to buy all that the richer have, due to the differentiation between social ranks...Salem ought to set an example for the other towns and village “Gemaine” as Br. Johannes has proclaimed, to aid them on their path of grace...It is not our intent to have our dress be the exact opposite of what other people are wearing; particularly those Brethren and Sisteren who also have business outside, but only that we need not go along with every (new) fashion... (*der FREMDEN DIENER*).

There are exceptions made to this rule if the person is one of high social status, or if they “have business outside.” This seems to apply to people like Traugott Bagge who are constantly in contact with the merchant class of people in other towns and cities. So, perhaps he is excused from this rule. It is important to remember that Traugott Bagge came from a merchant family in Sweden, whose business was in selling clothing. It is most likely that he developed a sophisticated taste for finer clothes, and likely arrived in Salem dressed like a member of the merchant class. His wife, Rachel, was also from a family that seemed to be from a higher social rank. In her youth, in England, she apprenticed for a while to learn the trade of mantuamaking. The person who was to teach her was concerned originally that because she and her father were associated with the Brethren, that her father would not dress her in the manner that was expected of their apprentices. Through the partial learning of this trade, and this experience, it is likely that Rachel also had acquired a taste in finer clothes. It may be that it was acceptable for the Bagge family to wear the more extravagant fashions.

In the study of the store merchandise, it appears that there was likely an abundance of fabrics, lace, and trims which would have been available for purchase, and was probably contributing to this problem of “unseemly fashion.” But although the craftsmen are admonished for contributing to the problem, no mention was made that Bagge was also an accomplice in securing the materials that allowed this behavior to continue. If we were to accept that Bagge’s store purchases indeed contributed to this problem, it is an example of how material culture can affect the lives of people as the “material” in this case truly crashes into the “culture.” Martin considers that objects

“become props for the drama of life” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 59), and as such they became “meteors of human behavior” (Martin, 1993, in a, p. 47) in tracking the thoughts and behaviors of individuals. These objects became important in recognizing shifts in cultural behavior. Perhaps worldly dress was also the beginning in the changing climate of Salem, as individuals started to test their boundaries in ways that would question the church’s complete authority in matters of a more secular nature.

The wares of the store also provided a connection with the outside world—the fabrics, coffee, spices, and tea sets, were a physical connection with cultures around the world and with the current fashions of the day. In a small backcountry town these imported wares provided excitement and newness, and for the Moravian who was constantly trying to stay abreast of world events, this must have been difficult to reconcile with living a life of more simplicity.

SOULS: *Interaction of the building with the residents and staff*

Family

Traugott Bagge

To study the Salem store it is essential to also come to know the man whose name is synonymous with the store itself-Traugott Bagge. (Fig. V-21) For the Store’s first twenty-five years, until his death in 1800, Br. Bagge and the store are almost inseparable. Called

to Wachovia in 1768 to serve as the “first person and merchant...to run the store entrusted to him,” (Agreement with Traugott Bagge, May 1, 1780) Bagge’s life before Salem had



Figure V-21.
Possible portrait
of Traugott
Bagge. Detail
from Portrait of
Charles Bagge
Family, See Fig.
V-24.

uniquely prepared him for the trials which were to test him during the trying times of the Revolutionary War.

Born June 26 (old style) or July 7 (new style), 1729 to Lorenz and Anna Margaretha Calms Bagge, in Gothenburg, Sweden, Traugott was the youngest of fourteen

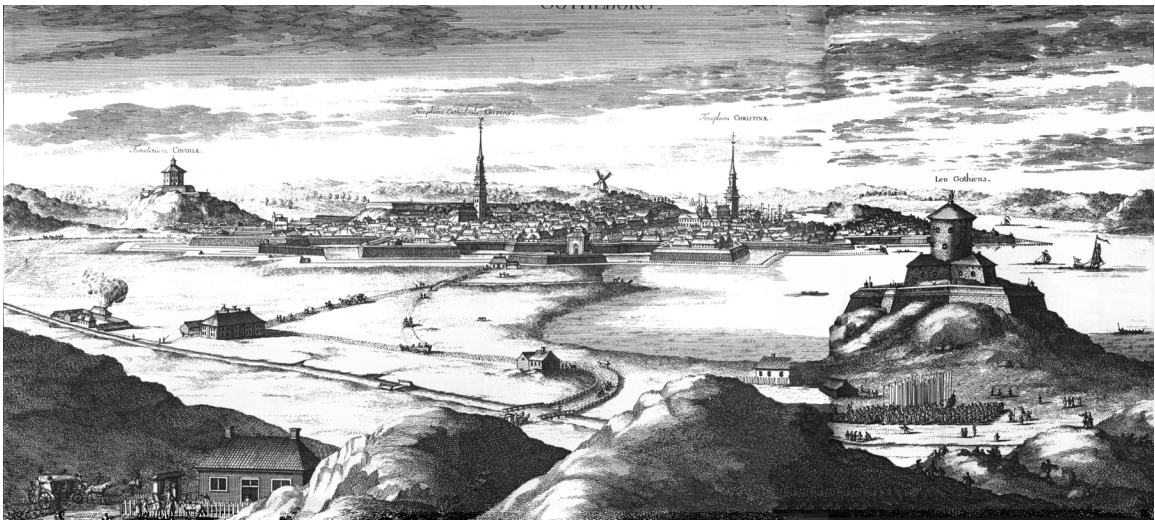


Figure V-22. “Suecia Goteborg.” Gothenburg, Sweden. Birthplace of Traugott Bagge. Engraving 1690-1710. Public domain. www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gothenburg.

children. His parents were members of the German congregation there, where Traugott was baptized. The first few years of his life, Traugott was very ill, even to the point of death; but by the age of 5 was well enough to begin studies from a German tutor, learning German, learning to read, and even memorizing the little Catechism by heart. He was an excellent student, and by nine was studying under several teachers, learning Latin, Greek, and studying Hebrew and Syriac; but his favorite subject was math. His first exposure to the Unity of Brethren came at the age of 11 when his parents visited Germany and returned with “the controversial correspondence between Superintendent Carpzoros and Brother Waiblinger” (Memoir). Traugott’s father, a merchant and alderman, took

Traugott into his business at the age of 12, to begin to teach him the business, and sent him to a school to study arithmetic. The next year his father died, and Traugott's mother and his two older merchant brothers continued his training in the mercantile business. His mother planned to send the 16-year old Traugott to "a store in Hamburg for six or seven years, at her expense, that [he] might fully learn the business" (Bagge Memoir). However, Traugott's oldest brother convinced their mother that it was he she should send to Hamburg; she agreed, and Traugott stayed at home in Gothenburg. The next year, 1746, turned out to be a life-changing year for Traugott after a great fire broke out in their home town, destroying 329 homes and one church. This made such an impact on the life of Traugott that "in [his] terror [he] promised God to sin no more" (Bagge Memoir). Bagge's memoir of his life has several accounts of being moved to piety, and soon after falling back again into sin. After the fire when many people came to the Bagge home, Traugott came in contact with the "awakened" gardener of his uncle, such that on

Sunday, July 13/24, was the never-to-be-forgotten day on which the Saviour graciously comforted [him], and so assured [him] of the forgiveness of [his] sins, and of His unending love and faithfulness, that no day of [his] life has been without remembrance of it (Bagge Memoir).

Soon after, Bagge and his brother began reading the hymnbooks and sermons of the Unity of Brethren, even though at that time the teachings of the Unity were considered heretical in Sweden. Later that same year, Traugott met Brethren from the Unity for the first time, being welcomed so warmly by them, he was soon using the German he had learned as a child to translate *Nachrichten* for the Brethren.

But once again Traugott turned to his sinful ways. In 1748, his mother sent him to Lubeck, Germany to his brother's business, at which time he also learned the discipline of book-keeping. The next year he went to his other brother's store in Hamburg, where he kept the books for two years. Then in 1751, accompanied by a store clerk "who lived an evil life and did [him] much harm," Traugott traveled to Copenhagen, and two years later, to Stockholm, stopping in Lubeck, where his brother convinced Traugott to settle down to business as a merchant, and sent him to purchase English cloths in London, an experience which left Traugott realizing that he needed much more experience in the mercantile business. His return voyage to Hamburg was long and difficult,

...and during it I could not help thinking about my life, its inconstancy and sinfulness, and how I was about to make it impossible to return to the Saviour, and what misery this would bring me, and I became anxious and ashamed. So I surrendered myself entirely to His will, finding very significant His words that men should give up father and mother, brother and sister for His sake; and seeing clearly that my future should be in the Unity of Brethren (Memoir).

Bagge returned to Gothenburg and helped his awakened brother in his store there, wanting to join the Brethren, but first realized the need to get his personal affairs in order. Hearing about the establishment of the Brethren's mission to North Carolina, Traugott and his brother purchased lots in the Wachovia tract, as original shareholders. Once his affairs were in order, Bagge left for Zeist, Netherlands, by way of Amsterdam. He was granted permission to move into the Single Brothers' House in at the Moravian settlement in Zeist, where he was again translating *Gemein Nachrichten*; and by 1756 became the assistant to Br. Weiss in the congregation store. In April he was received into

the congregation. In 1759, Traugott was called to be the Vorsteher of the Single Brethren in Fulneck, England, where he traveled in the company of Br. Johannes van Watteville.

England, 1760 brought a frightening experience to Bagge. As he was traveling to Ockbrook to conduct business for the Single Brothers' House, he lost his way at night and fell about eighty-five feet into an old coal mine. Injured and frightened in the dark mine, Bagge pleaded,

I turned to the Lord and begged that He would save me if it was His will, but that if He did not think it good so to do He would remain my God. And the hymn that we sing became true in my case:

‘When to the Lord we cry the Lord is there’ (Memoir).

About 3:00 the next afternoon, someone finally heard Bagge's cries for help, and found workers nearby to help pull the weak and injured Traugott out of the shaft. After resting awhile, he returned to Fulneck where all were happy to see his return. “I have had many escapes both before and after that trip, but that was the greatest and most remarkable” (Memoir).

1767 was a significant year, as Bagge was called to be the merchant in Wachovia after Brother von Gammern died. But before he could begin his work as merchant it was required for him to be married. [From this point, the brief biographies of Traugott and Rachel Bagge have been combined.]

Traugott and Rachel Bagge

On the 16th day of September in the year 1767 we were married at the Parish Church of Calverley in the Westriding of Yorkshire, which is the Church were all

the marriages in the Brethrens Congregation at Fulneck were performed. Our call was to have the care of the Store in Salem [Words of Traugott Bagge.] (Rachel Bagge Memoir).



Figure V-23.
Possible portrait of
Rachel Bagge.
Detail from
Portrait of Charles
Bagge Family, See
Fig. V-24.

Just 2 weeks later, on September 30, Rachel and Traugott left from Fulneck to London in the company of Br. And Sr. Marshall and five Single Sisters, headed for Wachovia. On October 18, they boarded a ship for Charleston. Rachel “was immediately sea sick, which lasted almost during the whole voyage, and confined her to her bed” (Rachel Bagge Memoir). On November 21, delayed by contrary winds “we go to Sea” and on December 5 they were at Madeira, not reaching Charleston until January 23, 1768; during this voyage in the tropics they were subject to weather much hotter than that with which they were accustomed. From Charleston, they traveled by land, and during this part of the trip, suffered from freezing weather, finally reaching Bethabara in Wachovia on February 14, 1768.

Br. Bagge had charge of the store in Bethabara, as well as the books and accounts of the Bethabara Oeconomy. The living conditions in the backcountry of North Carolina were not like life in England. Traugott said Rachel:

...became much dejected by the change of her situations, & by her finding the ways & manners of this country to differ so much from her own which made her continually remember with longing her choirhouse which she came from. But being heartily willing to serve in the fellowshiply housekeeping of the place she was diligent at sewing, and assisted in the Store (Rachel Bagge Memoir).

The Bagge’s first child, a daughter—Anna Elisabeth, was born September 9, 1769. On January 13, 1772, Br. And Sr. Bagge, their daughter, “and several other

persons, and four wagon-loads of Store goods moved to Salem today. The weather was so favorable that the transfer was happily made” (v. 2, p. 726). Their move to the new town of Salem was the beginning of the mercantile business in the Two-story house. Bagge was chosen as Chairman of the first Aufseher Collegium in Salem. The next year, a second daughter, Maria Rahel, was born, but died only three months later. Soon after, discussions began in earnest for the building of the new store. Timbers were being cut in February, 1774. The cornerstone was laid on the 5th of April, 1774, and on

May 9, 1775, we moved into the new store building; with that began a trying period. On my [Traugott’s] birthday, July 7th, I received a letter from Congress, calling on the Brethren to take part in the war. I took this as a sign that in the troubles which the war might bring I was to serve the Unity and the Brethren to the best of my ability (Bagge Memoir).

Just two months later, twin sons, Benjamin and Charles were born to Rachel and Traugott. Rachel must have been busy taking care of three young children, and keeping things together at home while Traugott was away on business. Traugott explains that his absences from home were often difficult for Rachel:

My being often absent on journeys for weeks & months together upon business, it often made her dejected so as to make her sick, but upon my return it was soon over again. She was sickly & weak in her constitution but her lively mind made her recover as soon as the ailments became tolerable. But in course of time she was afflicted with sore legs which she had many years (Rachel Bagge Memoir).

During those first years in the new store building, Bagge continued his work, adjusting to the new store structure. On September of the same year, the Aufseher Collegium stated that it was discussed years before that such contracts were necessary for all the business

branches of the Salem congregation, it was determined, for some unknown reason, that at this time “This shall be done at once, and in the contracts shall be stated their year’s salary, and their entire relation to the Diaconie. It is not wise to give a master part of the year’s profit,--an annual *douceur* [[gratuity, tip]] is preferable” (v. 4, p. 1604). On October 31, the Records indicate that the agreements had been completed with all masters and managers of those businesses. It is not known why the agreement with Bagge was completed so much earlier, in May, months before the statement of need. (See Context chapter for this document.) This agreement which was translated for this research is a valuable document that clearly lays out all expectations and responsibilities of the merchant. Since no negative comments were discovered in the *Records* that would indicate that Bagge had violated these regulations, it is assumed that his job performance was acceptable to the Salem Diacony.

Meanwhile, as the country was in the midst of a Revolution, Traugott was busy dealing with militia and troops for the next few years as he was spokesman and interpreter for Salem on many occasions, usually taking the lead role, as Marshall, chief Administrator was in Europe and unable to return to Wachovia because of the war. Bagge’s unique position as merchant, his skills in dealing with both aristocratic and common man, and his ability to speak German and English, placed him as a major supplier for both American and British troops, and also placed him in the midst of dangerous circumstances.

In February 1781, Lord Cornwallis and his army marched through Salem, the General stopping for several hours in my [the Bagge] house; and four or five days

later we were visited by 500 cavalry-men, who called me to account for it. (Bagge Memoir).

Bagge fulfilled every request possible because he realized the Moravian stance of pacifism placed the town in a precarious position, he therefore often served diplomacy to attempt to keep peace in Salem.

In 1782 I was elected to the Assembly, and accepted the position, hoping that I could help to check the wasting and plundering going on in the land, and also that I might help to establish the rights of the Unity in Wachovia, and the Saviour brought both to pass. I was made a Commissioner for this District to pass on claims against the Commonwealth, and was also appointed a Justice of the Peace for this County. Here I should note that such duties, while they did not turn me from the Lord, nevertheless were an outside matter, and as a worldly spirit was always dangerous for me, and disturbed my communion with the Saviour, it was probably well for me that next time I was not re-elected to the Assembly (Bagge Memoir).

1787 was a difficult year for health reasons as the fifty-eight year old Traugott was very ill for a few months and his wife, Rachel, “who had been in poor health for a long time, became lame in both her hands.” It was around Easter in that year that Traugott recalls that Rachel experienced “strokes of the palsy, and recovered very slowly remaining from that time lame on both hands, and could from that time do no more work, but had to spend a shorter time by reading of books & visiting her friends” (Rachel Bagge Memoir). But they both apparently recovered enough to make a trip to Pennsylvania in 1789, where their twin sons were in school from 1787 to 1790. Their daughter, Anna Elisabeth married Samuel Benjamin Vierling, the town doctor in 1790, giving birth to their first grandchild-Maria Rosina, in 1791. This time of joy was broken when a throat

disease took the lives of daughter Anna Elisabeth and son Benjamin in 1792, just a month apart.

In Br. Bagge's memoir his own beautiful handwriting stops in 1794, and was finished by someone else. Traugott Bagge, "At the last Synod... was re-elected a member of the Aufseher Collegium, and helped gladly wherever he could, taking especial charge of visitors, and high and low gave him all respect and honor" (Bagge Memoir).

Toward the end of Rachel's memoir, Traugott summed up their life together:

In our married state & other circumstances we lived for the most part of the time cheerfully together & when difficult hours & occurrences came upon us, we prayed frequently to our Savr, & experienced his help on numberless occasions. She was to me a true Helpmate to the utmost of her ability and had truly the well being of her children at heart" (Rachel Bagge Memoir).

On January 6, after attending the Lord's Supper, Rachel went home to bed; and as

Traugott wrote:

..about 1 o'clock on the 18th [Feb, 1799] it was evident that her Soul was about departing. The Brethren & Sisters present sung verses for her, and I delivered her with humble prayer to the hands of her faithfull Saviour, to be there for ever...Her age was 64 years, 3 months, & 18 days (Rachel Bagge Memoir).

As circumstances according to the Moravians dictated that a person dealing with both genders of the public be married, in August, Bagge began thinking about remarrying:

Br. Bagge brought up in the Helpers' Conf. that his circumstances seemed to require that he be married again and he proposed to make a journey to Pa. for this purpose. Since we can hardly advise him against this we will commend him to our Brn. in Pa. in advance (EC-S).

However, for some reason he postponed those plans to go to Pennsylvania to find a wife.

In March the following year,

Thursday, March 27, 1800, in the morning, he went about the town with his old friend, former Governor Martin, in the afternoon he was taken with a fever in the chest, which at first did not seem dangerous, though it weakened him greatly. Sunday, March 30th he was bright, talked much with his friends, busied himself with some accounts, and seemed to be better. But on Monday he was weaker, and the trouble in the chest increased. He showed many signs of the peaceful state of his soul, and gave himself up like a child to the Lord. Everything possible was done for him, and the pain seemed generally bearable. During the night he rejoiced in the singing of several hymns; and he passed away in the second hour of the morning (April 1), so quietly that those who watched by him did not know. His age was 70 years, 8 months, and 23 days (Bagge Memoir).

On April 3, the funeral was held for Br. Traugott Bagge, and so many were in attendance the in the *Gemeinhaus Saal* could not hold everyone. (Home Church was under construction but not finished, so services could not be held there.) Br. Traugott Bagge, as merchant of the Salem Store from its beginning, for 28 years, had become well-known and respected as far away as Philadelphia, such that, after his death an anonymous friend posted an obituary about him in the Philadelphia newspaper, *Gazette of the United States*. (Appendix F-Obituary) His dear friend, Alex. Martin, former governor of North Carolina, sent a letter of condolence to Br. Marshall, in which he included a poem he had written in honor and remembrance of Br. Traugott Bagge. (Appendix F, Letter from Martin)

Wife-Rachel Nickelson Bagge (Her name is spelled Rahel and Rachel)

Rachel Bagge, (Fig. 23) wife of Traugott, was born November 1, 1734 to parents Charles and Mary Nickelson, in St. Martin Parish in the Field at London, England. Her name sometimes appears spelled “Rahel” in documents. Rachel’s mother had two children by a previous marriage, both of whom had died before Rachel was born. Charles and Mary had two children, Rachel and a younger sister. When Rachel was 18 months and her sister 6 months, their mother died leaving Charles with two young daughters. It was about this time that Charles became “acquainted with Mr. Wesley, but when he separated from the Brethren, my father cleaved to them” (Rachel Bagge Memoir). Charles took his children to his brother’s in Cambridge. Soon after, Rachel’s sister died. Rachel stayed with her aunt and her father’s mother until she was ten years of age. At thirteen, it was determined that she should learn the trade of Mantuamaking. It is unclear, but it seems that it was decided for her not to go to this acquaintance to learn this trade. However, later in her memoir, she states: “I had learnt a little of mantuamaking at London, but the person who taught me left the Brethren, & I was afraid I should get hurt in my head by her conversation, & therefore came away before I had learnt half the business...” (Rachel Bagge Memoir).

In 1750, Rachel became a member in the great Girls Choir in a Moravian congregation. She attended a Great Girls Festival where Count and Countess Zinzendorf and family were present at Lovefeast, and Rachel says, “From that day our Saviour had won my heart” (Rachel Bagge Memoir). On December 28 of the same year, she was received into the congregation; and took her first Communion in March of 1751. “In

1753 when the Confusion was in London, and so many left the congregation, it made me very uneasy” (Rachel Bagge Memoir). [It is unclear what the “confusion” is. During this time period there were a few books published attacking the Brethren, it may be that this is what Rachel meant. For more information see: Hutton, J. E., *History of the Moravian Church*.]

In 1754, Rachel was received into the Choir of Single Sisters, however, she was still living at home with her father, because there was no one else to help take care of him, even though she desperately desired to live with the Sisters. After she refused a proposal of marriage, and convinced her father that she needed to live with the Sisters for her spiritual health, it was agreed. And in 1755, she left for Fulneck, England to live in the Single Sisters House there, where she learned the new trade of spinning. She was much relieved when the next year her father remarried, and he had someone to care for him. Rachel suffered from poor health, and after 1763 she was no longer able to work due to “a lameness left on me.” The next couple of years she was given the responsibility to work with “a room of Great Girls,” and later to become one of the Intercessors Company. In 1766, Rachel was accepted as an Akoluthie. The following year she was responsible for 2 bands of Sisters. [This much of Rachel’s memoir is in her words (but in the hand of Traugott Bagge). From this point on in her Memoir, it is written in the voice and hand of Traugott Bagge. In this account the lives of Rachel and Traugott are combined after their marriage. See above.]

Daughter-Anna Elisabeth Bagge Vierling

Born September 9, 1769 in Bethabara, Anna Elisabeth, was only three years old when she moved to Salem with her parents in 1772-the same year that Martha Elizabeth Miksch also moved to the new town of Salem with her parents. (These two little girls grew up together in Salem, and as adults were to be married to the same man-Dr. Samuel Benjamin Vierling. Anna Elisabeth was his first wife, and following her death, Dr. Vierling married Martha.) During the small-pox epidemic in 1779, the Records tell us that ten-year old Anna Elisabeth was upset: "Little Betsy Bagge, who has often wept because she was the only little girl who did not have small-pox, has now taken it..." (v. 3, p. 1308).

In a list of Single Sisters and Older Girls, in 1786, Elisabeth Bagge "is with her parents," one of two out of thirty-eight are listed as living with their parents; most older girls lived in the Sisters House. (For other Girls and Sisters in this list, their occupation is given.) In 1786, Anna Elisabeth was seventeen years old, and was still considered to be an Older Girl. It was not until a young lady was eighteen that she was received into the Single Sisters Choir, at which time she was eligible for marriage.

Anna Elisabeth's life was about to change, in 1790, as Br. Samuel Benjamin Vierling, a Young doctor from Silesia was called to fill the vacancy left by Dr. Bonn. He arrived in Salem on February 22, "took over the stock in the apothecary shop" on February 26th, and purchased the house and shop from the heirs of Br. Bonn on March 4, Just ten days after his arrival in town, on March 14th, "In the evening, after an impressive address by Br. Koehler, the Single Br. Samuel Benjamin Vierling was married to the

Single Sr. Anna Elisabeth Bagge” (v. 5, p. 2296). They moved into the apothecary shop and house, on Main Street, just five days later. In 1791, they gave birth to their first child, a daughter—Maria Rosina. However, just a year later, Anna Elisabeth was struck with the throat disease and died.

Daughter-Maria Rahel Bagge

In 1773, the second daughter of Traugott and Rachel was born:

“Our Children’s Choir has this year been increased by two boys and two girls, all baptized soon after their birth, and so made a part of His Congregation. One of these, Maria Rahel Bagge, lived only three months, and was then transferred by the Saviour into the heavenly Choir” (v. 2, p. 750).

Twin Sons-Charles Frederick and Benjamin Samuel Bagge

When Br. And Sr. Bagge moved into the new store on May 8, 1775, Rachel was pregnant, and delivered twin sons—Charles Frederick and Benjamin Samuel-- two months later on July 30. When the twins were five years old, in 1779, a small-pox epidemic broke out in Salem. The Records tell an amusing story about the two boys on June 23, 1779:

As Br. Bagge went home from service he found his children playing. Charles was the minister, and Benjamin the diener. When their singstunde was over Benjamin asked whether he should ring the bell again? Charles said: “yes, but this service must be for the sick;” and behold, the next day Charles broke out with small-pox! Few children are left who can be counted well, and they are very anxious to have small-pox, and visit the sick gladly (v. 3, p. 1308).

Their sister Betsy broke out with the disease just a week later.

The first school for boys in Salem began in 1783, with only three students—the eight-year old Bagge twins, and Samuel Meyer, the son of the tavern-keeper. Their school was held in the former home of Br. Triebel (on the lot across Main Street from the Boys School built in 1794.)

Br. Praetzel will be school-father, in which capacity he will look after the household management, the order and cleanliness of the boys. The boys will rise in summer at half past five, and in winter at six o'clock, and will go to bed at eight o'clock. They will have daily morning and evening prayers. They will take breakfast at the school, and Samuel Meyer will eat supper there. Br. Bagge's children will go home to supper at six o'clock, returning at half past six. In the middle of the day Br. Bagge's children will go to dinner at their home at half past eleven; Samuel Meyer will not go home until a quarter before twelve; they will all return to the school at half past twelve. The parents are to give each child his own comb and towel, but they will share a wash-pan, pitcher and jar. In summer the children shall each have a clean shirt twice a week; the sleeping hall and the rooms shall be swept twice a week. The Brethren in charge must watch over the cleanliness and order, especially in regard to combing, washing, making beds and keeping them free of vermin, shining shoes, and so on (v. 4, p. 1851).

In 1786, Br. Bagge made arrangements for his children to be instructed on the clavier, for an hour a day, and to practice on the clavier in the boys' school. When the twins turned twelve, at about the age when most students had finished their formal education, and began an apprenticeship, Bagge sent his sons to enter the school or Paedagogium at Nazareth Hall, in Pennsylvania. Students were sent here for further education beyond that which was provided in Salem. They returned from Pennsylvania in 1790, at the age of 15, and moved into the Single Brothers House, as members of the Older Boys Choir. However, they did not strictly follow the rules of the Choir as it related to meal times:

(Aelt. Conf.) Bagge's sons sleep and take their noon meal in the Brothers House, but so far have been taking breakfast and supper with their parents. They may continue to breakfast with them, but should take supper in the Brothers House. The parents shall be told that the life of the Choir requires this (v. 5, p. 2306).

About this same time, Benjamin was asked to play the organ in the services for children, and was learning the work of the apothecarist and doctor from his brother-in-law, Dr. Vierling; while Charles was learning the trade of merchant from his father. Two years later, however, an epidemic of throat disease took the life of Benjamin and his sister. Charles continued to work in the store. Once again, the Bagge family seems to be above the rules on the community, as it relates to the meals of the twenty-year old Single Brother Charles Bagge:

It was mentioned the other day in the Collegium that several Brothers in the community are talking about the fact that Chr. Bagge is boarded in his father's house instead of the Brothers House. Br. Bagge has declared himself willing to change this if it would be found necessary. The Elders Conference has considered this and since there is nothing objectionable to the matter concerning Br. Bagge's household, yes, since it is made necessary through the store, we do not object if their son Charles continues to eat in the house of his father (Auf. Col.-EH).

When Br. Traugott Bagge died in 1800, his son Charles had been working in the store for about ten years, and with others, he managed the store for a very short period of time until Bagge's replacement arrived. It might seem that Charles would be allowed to assume the responsibility of merchant from his father, but the church officials for some reason did not consider this wise. Br. Conrad Kreuser from Nazareth, Pennsylvania was called to fulfill the role of merchant. Charles seems to have struggled for awhile, as the only surviving member of this immediate family, he may have felt lost. He looked into

several proposals made to him in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and Graceham, Maryland. He then wished to marry Christine Holder. On August 19, 1801, in conversation with her father Charles Holder, “it became apparent that the marriage of Charles Bagge to their daughter had already been arranged, and that it would take place tomorrow” (v. 6, p. 2681). A year later they had their first child, a daughter, whom they named after Charles’ deceased sister—Anna Elizabeth. At some time, the Charles Bagge family (Fig. V-24) moved out of Salem and Charles opened a store south of town. For this research, as it focuses on the Store until 1800, the rest of the life of Charles Bagge has not been recorded here.



Figure V-24. Portrait of Charles Bagge Family. c. 1825. Christian Daniel Welfare. Oil on canvas. Old Salem Museums & Gardens. [Notice portraits hanging on wall in background. The second from left is believed to be the portrait of Traugott Bagge, and the third from left to be Rachel Bagge. This image is copied from a black and white photo which shows these background portraits more clearly than a color, because the original painting has darkened over time.]

The inclusion of souls in this analysis is critical. Without individuals to people the Store, there cannot be a complete understanding of the structure. (For more extensive list of residents and store staff, Appendix C-Additional Residents and Store Staff) The various layers focus on how the building interacts with people at each stage. Cultural history aided in grasping fuller meaning of the Store through political, economic, social and religious principles, which are intertwined throughout all layers. These concepts cannot be understood without considering the relationships of people with one another and with the Store. Martin's philosophy of materialism incorporates a cycle of objects, people, social groups, and culture. She speculates that consumption, consumerism, and materialism intersect with people, ideas and material objects, and as such represent the relationship between man God and society. This ultimately describes the analysis of this thesis. The Store served as a container for goods. Through these goods we gain an understanding of this relationship between man, God and society as objects of material culture became symbols of values and provided the means of interaction in these relationships.

Through this analysis, the Store has been peeled apart layer by layer to observe the different components individually. But the Store was more than a series of layers; it was a single functioning organism. In a living history museum, the understanding of the Store as an organism enables us to interpret a space, and "en-soul" that space, breathing life into brick and mortar. As we look to the past, we gain understanding of ourselves. We recognize that we are all human with human problems and dreams, regardless of the century into which we were born. By imagining the lives and experiences of those long

gone, we see glimpses of lives, and perhaps can learn from their experiences to better know ourselves and look to our future. In order to view the Store as a whole, the following interpretation attempts to provide the experience of interacting with the Store by imagining the building in its daily routines. We can never transport ourselves back in time and truly witness a day in the life of the Salem Store, but we can begin to imagine the experience of shopping at the Salem Store, visualize the work carried out by the store staff and picture the daily life for the Bagge family.

For Br. and Sr. Bagge, the Storebuilding was home; perhaps it was a symbol of their status in the community, and a source of pride. For the family it was a place where delicious smells emanated from the fireplace in the kitchen. A scene of thankfulness when family and others gathered around the table sharing coffee and cakes at Vesper to celebrate the birthday of Anna Elisabeth. Her teacher and perhaps some friends had come to join in the simple meal and share the celebration. The stone walls of the structure, shut out the howling of the wind and the wolves, providing protection to all those sleeping within. The front room was the scene of terror, and surprising grace as the twin boys disarmed hate and violence:

One evening twenty armed men came into my living room, probably with that intention [plundering], but my little children began to play with them, and they forgot their design. Another scamp twice placed a loaded pistol against my breast; and some time before another threatened me for an hour with bare saber, declaring he was going to cut me to pieces (Bagge Memoir).

At other times the living room was a scene of happiness when welcoming friends to share in the joy of music together. On laundry days, Single Sisters who provided domestic help

for the Bagges sweated in the wash/bake kitchen downstairs which was a sweltering inferno on a hot summer day when clothing and linens needed to be stirred in a huge kettle over the fire, before hanging out to dry on the line. Their home embraced friends who came to sing hymns around the sickbed of Rachel Bagge, and usher her soul into the arms of Jesus. For the family and residents, this stone building was a refuge, a warm hearth, a place of nurture in times of joy and sorrow.

Many visitors came to Salem, of all economic classes, some of distinction. Their interaction with store personnel would take on a quite different aspect, whether the customer was a gentleman, a farmer, a resident, or a soldier. In a 1780 agreement between Bagge and the Salem Diacony, Bagge was instructed to “be modest in manners to his customers and to serve them with good wares for a fair price, without offer and counter-offer [haggling], or to sell one more dearly than to another” (Moravian Archives. S 740:1). In this time period, it was routine for a merchant to take a gentlemen to his office to extend his hospitality and perhaps make business agreements as to payment, special orders, and sometimes special prices. But the entry above would cast doubt as to whether this practice was accepted among the Moravians.

An “outsider” may have traveled 200 miles or more to shop in Salem. At home he would have packed his wagon with deer skins, butter, tobacco, perhaps some flax; carrying his belongings and enough food for a few days, for himself and his horses; and left with instructions from his wife as to what purchases needed to be made. As he approached Salem, the town would have been a welcome site. If he was a person of distinction, he may have been greeted by the *Fremden Diener*—Traugott Bagge, who

showed the visitor about town, and answered inquires as to the nature of the Brethren. Otherwise, the traveler's first stop was at the Store to unload, if his load was large, if not, he went to the Tavern, where his horse was pastured and his belongings were placed in a room; perhaps he took in some dinner. He did not have far to walk to the Store. He recognized which building was the Store, the sign hung outside and the windows were filled with imported goods. As he opened the front door, his senses were greeted with a variety of sights, smells, and sounds. The shelves were full of fabrics, glass, china, packages wrapped in brown paper, boxes, pigeonholes filled with papers of pins and needles, buttons and buckles. Casks of wine and barrels of salt lined the wall in the corner. Perhaps Br. Bagge was in the store that day, and greeted the customer warmly. The large counter bisected the room barricading the customer from the merchandise. The storekeeper, asked how he might assist; and began to search the boxes and containers for exactly the items requested, bringing them to the counter, where the light from the windows helped illuminate the product for inspection. This store had been called "the best assorted country store in the United States" (*The North Carolina Journal*), and had much to beckon to the customer. The aromas of coffee, molasses, spices, and leather goods, mingled to entice the customer to stay and see what other goods were of interest. As coffee beans were scooped and measured into the scales, the sounds of coffee beans clinking in the metal pan, and the heavier thunk of the weight added to the other pan, all created an atmosphere of want and desire. Items were procured to fulfill the wife's list of necessities. Perhaps he would buy that pretty silk ribbon for his daughter, or a tea set his wife had longer for. There were also a few tools that he could use to make his work on

the farm easier. Once all the items were collected, the storekeeper tallied up the total, and accepted the customer's farm products as partial payment, and extending him a little credit until the next crop was in. After leaving the Store, the gentleman visited the potter and the blacksmith to make other purchases. That evening he might attend the evening singing service in the *Gemeinhaus*. When he came to Salem, he dearly loved hearing the beautiful music of the Moravians. He spent a comfortable night in the Tavern, and enjoyed a good breakfast before starting out early on his way home with his wagon loaded with necessities and treasures for his family.

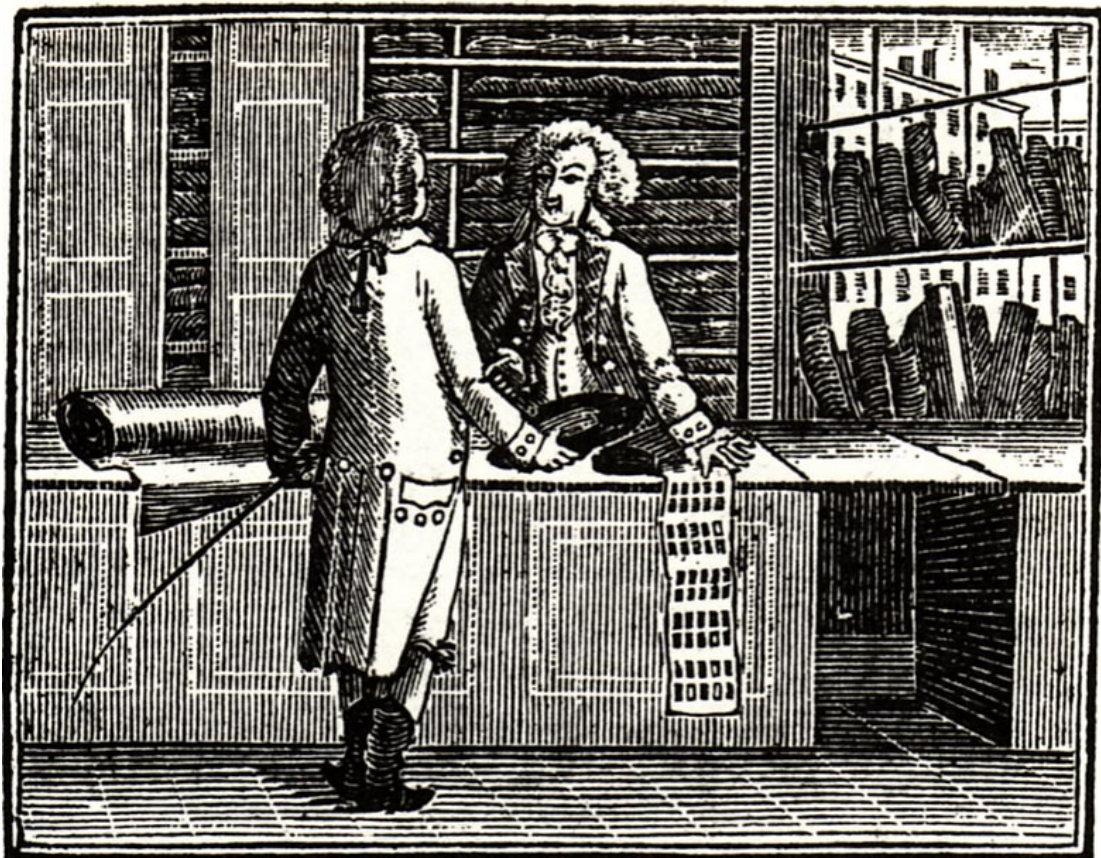


Figure V-25. Shopkeeper. Thomas Bewick. Woodcut. 1800 *Woodcuts by Thomas Bewick and His School*, Plate 173.

Shopping was often the activity of the male, because it involved difficult travel. Often those coming to Salem to shop were “rude” and because of their behavior, others were “exposed to insolence by day and night” (v. 2, p. 674). On occasion, there were a great many customers in town creating potential for serious problems, such as the occurrence of May 1778:

This was a day the like of which had never yet been seen in Salem. Such a crowd had gathered that the street from the tavern to the blacksmith shop [That is four blocks long.] was so full of people and horses that it was difficult to pass through. The potter-shop was kept closed, and the persons who had ordered pottery, had paid for it in butter, and had received tickets, were served through the window. Col. Armstrong did good service, threatening the people with his drawn sword if they did not keep quiet; and for a wonder they were still, for there were not as many pieces of pottery in the shop as there were people outside and they realized that it could not be helped, though many of them got nothing. As many of them were here for the third day they were hungry, and the bread in the bakery had to be cut in pieces in order to help the largest number. On this occasion the store bought about 400 lbs. butter from those who had come the longest distance, paying for it 8d in silver or 2sh. in new money. Those who lived near by took their butter home with them. Soon after noon our town was clear, and we thanked the Saviour heartily that all had gone so well... (v. 3, p. 1231-2).

The shopping experience would be different for a Salem resident. Given the nature of a congregation town in which, “it is more like one family, where the religious and material condition of each member is known in detail” (v. 1, p. 313-5), the storekeeper was very familiar with his customer, his shopping frequency and patterns, probably also his desires. The transaction was probably routine, with payment made with cash, commodity, or most likely, simply recorded as a bookkeeping entry, to be reconciled at a later date. Feb, 1780 “...we think it would be best if he [Bagge] could privately encourage the Brothers and Sisters to come to the Store when he is there” (Auf.

Col.-EH). The Brothers and Sister of Salem were encouraged thus perhaps to enable Bagge to give a better price for products brought in, or for the purchase price. The residents would be able to communicate with Br. Bagge as to their desires for future purchases. And perhaps, Bagge could gently remind someone if a debt needed to be paid. For the town resident the shopping experience may have been as imagined: In the morning on a cold day in November, 1781, a married Sister came into the Store to make purchases. The sturdy walls of the building sheltered her from the cold winds, but the room was not warmed by a fire, so she went about her business quickly. She needed sugar, spices, and coffee to prepare for the extra mouths to feed, as the Assembly was coming to stay in town a few days for their meeting. She also came to learn from the newspaper and word of mouth, the news of the events in the country. Payment was given in coins which tinkled as they hit the pan of the scales to be weighed; they were clipped coins and while they were accepted, had to be weighed to determine their actual value. While the Sister was collecting her purchases in her basket, her eye caught a new bundle of handkerchiefs on the shelf. She asked the price, and Br. Bagge took them down from the shelf and gently spread them on the counter to entice her. She made a mental note of one silk handkerchief, and its price, ran her fingers across the smooth soft surface, noticing the beautiful sheen, and imagined the far-away place where the silk may have been spun; but she decided she would have to wait until after the Assembly had left. As she exited she gave her warm wishes to be passed along to Sr. Bagge.

The shopping experience was likely very different for the many military men who came through Salem. In 1776 officers came into the Store, and saw much which they

needed, and perhaps wanted as well. Feeling perhaps that the people of Salem were wealthy and that since their Store was well stocked, it was their duty to supply the troops. They took what they wanted, not reckoning with the storekeeper, ordering that everything be written up on public account. Col. Martin Armstrong, later perhaps embarrassed by the behavior of his officers, came to settle with Br. Bagge as best he could, providing Bagge with a Certificate, and placing an order with him for “2000 lbs. meat, and enough cornmeal to feed 2000 men eight days” (v. 3, p. 1024-1038). During the War, the demands were often quite sizeable like this request for supplies. Often the challenges were more of an economic nature placing the storekeeper in a situation where he was mentally adding, trying to determine how to provide good service to his customers and protect Store profits, when money became greatly devalued:

Now every one came to spend his money where things could still be found, and very few would take change. If there was some part due on a bill they wanted to spend they would say, if ...; in the store: “Give me some thread, needles, tape, sugar,”... So the time began when it was a real problem to spend money that one was obliged to take in (v. 3, p. 1024-1038).

The experience of the officers was quite different from that of other shoppers; as the experience of the Store staff was quite different in dealing with each of these shoppers. On some occasions, the store personnel were so busy dealing with “One Company and their captain [who] were very wild... [that] the Brethren in the tavern and store could not come to the Lovefeast...” (v. 3, p. 1024-1038).

For the customer, the Salem Store was a place of desire, of connections, and the fulfillment of needs. The Store staff attempted to accommodate each customer as best he

could, whether he was a gentleman farmer, a local Sister, demanding soldiers, or a distinguished visitor. Br. Bagge and his staff apparently gained a good reputation for their honest dealings, as it was reported that, "...It was rather interesting that one of the captains who was in Salem would not trust his men with the powder he had in the wagons, but put it under Br. Bagge's care" (v. 3, p. 1024-1038). When customers were not in the store, the staff had other responsibilities—the storekeeper retired to the office to make bookkeeping entries, after requesting that stocks be replenished. Clerks re-wrapped parcels and put them back on the shelves. A hogshead of salt was hoisted up through the back door, and the barrel rolled to its place in the corner by the counter. An enslaved worker was in the store yard doing the hard work packing barrels of butter for market, identifying boxes and barrels with a marking tool, and removing hides from stretchers before loading all the commodities in a wagon, readied for the trip to Charleston. Br. Bagge checked the products packed and cautioned Br. Bibighaus about this trip, checking to see what teamsters were traveling with him. For these people the Store building was sometimes a place of frustration and dread because of the hard work, sometimes unruly customers, and sometimes an unreasonable boss.

For the twenty-first visitor today, the Store is recognized by the sign hanging outside—"T. Bagge Merchant" with an image of a bee skep and buzzing bees (an eighteenth century symbol of industry). (Fig. II-5) It is a welcoming museum store brimming with merchandise to take home—a handcrafted pewter spoon to remember the wonderful visit to Old Salem, watching the pewterer file such a spoon at his work bench; a Moravian star to thank the neighbor who fed the kitty; and reproduction Colonial coins

and a Maggie Bessie doll for the grandchildren. (Souvenirs, as objects which are purchased to embody an experience, are perhaps the ultimate example of material culture!) For today's customer, the shopping experience at T, Bagge is one of browsing in an interesting store; but for them the stones and mortar, bricks and plaster, are just a museum store. That is all. What they don't yet know is that is much more...it is *so* much more!

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As with much research of the life of the Moravians, this process of discovery allowed the researcher to be transported two hundred years back in time to glimpse into the window of the Store and become a bystander observing the hum of activity surrounding this important business in Salem. Although it was a long and sometimes tedious journey, the experience has been rich and worthwhile.

At the onset of this journey, it was anticipated that a store inventory would provide a list of specific goods sold in the Salem store, and through these goods it would be possible to create a snapshot of the Store business. Unfortunately, that inventory remained illusive, such that other records were used to create a list of possible store wares.

There were discoveries along the way that were unexpected. The pieced together evidence of store goods enabled the researcher to theorize the significant way Br. Bagge contributed to the “unseemly” fashions which took hold in Salem, by providing the fabric, laces, and articles of haberdashery which caused unrest in the brotherly way of life, and thus challenged the theocratic authority. By becoming acquainted with Traugott Bagge, it was possible to witness his significant contributions to the community, while recognizing that he was human with failings, sometimes exhibiting petty behavior. The overarching theme of this study identifies the intersection of material culture and people

and the myriad of ways that the Salem Store impacted the backcountry community, through its network of connections.

Throughout this process of research, perhaps more questions have been asked than answered. The following are some possible avenues for further investigation:

- Compare the Store with other buildings in town by square footages and values to determine class distinction
- Research invoices of merchants in Charleston and Cross Creek to determine prices paid for Salem goods; with whom and where those products were shipped
- Determine how products were processed for market
- Compare the Salem Store with other Moravians stores, in terms of inventory amounts, profit/loss, town populations, and trading area
- Research OSM&G collections to determine if any objects are related to the Store, such as items listed on utensils inventory
- Check records of local coopers to determine if casks, barrels, and boxes were made for the Store for shipping and storage purposes
- Research Store ledgers to identify purchasing patterns of individuals
- Compare the Store with other Salem branch businesses

This research was a broad casting of the net to gain an overview of the Salem Store. Of primary value is the compilation of textual data in a searchable database, which was crucial for the mining of information for this thesis and may act as a springboard for further study. In addition, these Timelines and the additional information supplied in the appendices provide opportunity for extensive focused and in depth investigation in the

future. It is hoped that the information presented here will serve as a valuable tool for Old Salem Museums & Gardens to re-tell the story of retail in Salem.

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Their Faith-Our Heritage Booklet for Funding for Old Salem Restoration. Old Salem Museums and Gardens. OS-NC.B MFm.1

Winston-Salem, Journal and Sentinel. “Construction Clues, Old Records Pave Way for Old Salem Restoration”

APPENDIX A-PHOTOS

INTERIOR Residence



**[Living]Room looking
SW.**



**Original corner fireplace
in Chamber.**



**Looking into Kitchen.
Corner was location of
stairs to Wash Kitchen
downstairs.**



**Kitchen looking N. Flat
round circle on upper
wall to right is the
location of fireplace flue.**

Store



Store looking NE.



**Store looking NW toward
location of conjectured
Sleeping Chamber.**



Store looking SW.



**Store looking W toward
conjectured door
opening.**

Cellar



**NW Store Cellar Room,
with exposed original
stone wall.**



NE Store Cellar Room.



SE Store Cellar Room.



**S-Central Family Cellar
Room.**



**Original fireplace in
Family Wash Kitchen.**

EXTERIOR



Front. East.



South side.



North side.



**Rear. NW corner.
Residential section.**



**Rear. West. Residential
section.**



**Rear. West. Residential section to the right. Store
three windows to the left.**

1950s RESTORATION



**Front. Removal of
second story.**

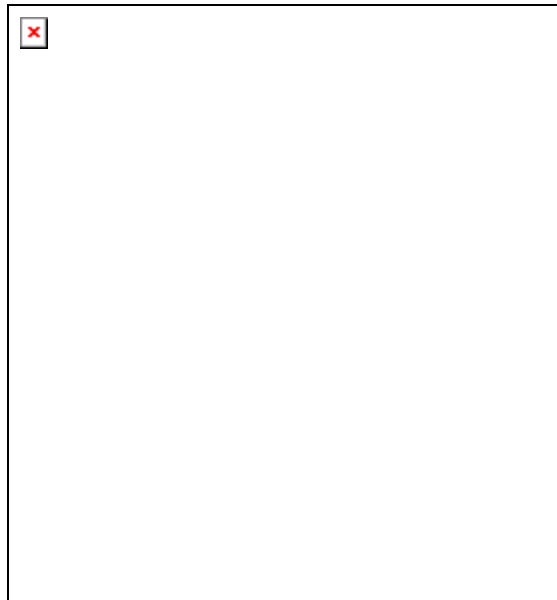
**Front. Archaeological
evidence showing
placement of original
Store entry.**



**Front. Restored to one-and-a-half story,
before ashlar finish applied.**



**SW view. Before second story removal.
Showing exposed stone structure.**

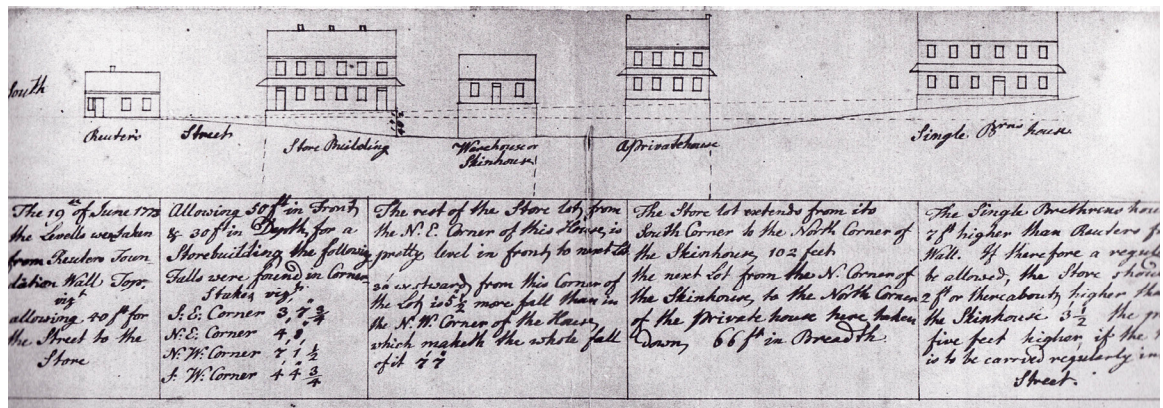


**Rear of Store, with restored roofline;
before restoration of W wall.**

APPENDIX B—ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

ELEVATION OF MAIN STREET FACING WEST.

Jun 19, 1773. Frederic William Marshall.



"The 19th of June 1773 the Levells were taken from Reuters Town [?-German] Wall Top. viz^t allowing 40 ft for the Street to the Store.

Allowing 50 ft in Front & 30 ft in Depth, for a Storebuilding, the following Falls were found in Corner Stakes viz^t

S.E. Corner 3', 7 3/4"

N.E. Corner 4', 8"

N.W. Corner 7', 1 1/2"

S.W. Corner 4', 4 3/4"

The rest of the Store lot, from the N.E corner of this House, is pretty level in front, to next Lot.

30' westward from this Corner of the Lot, is 5 1/2" more fall than in the N.W. Corner of the House, which maketh the whole fall of it 7' 7."

The Store lot extends from its South Corner to the North Corner of the Skinhouse, 102 feet the next Lot from the N. Corner of the Skinhouse, to the North Corner of the Private house here taken down, 66 ft in breadth.

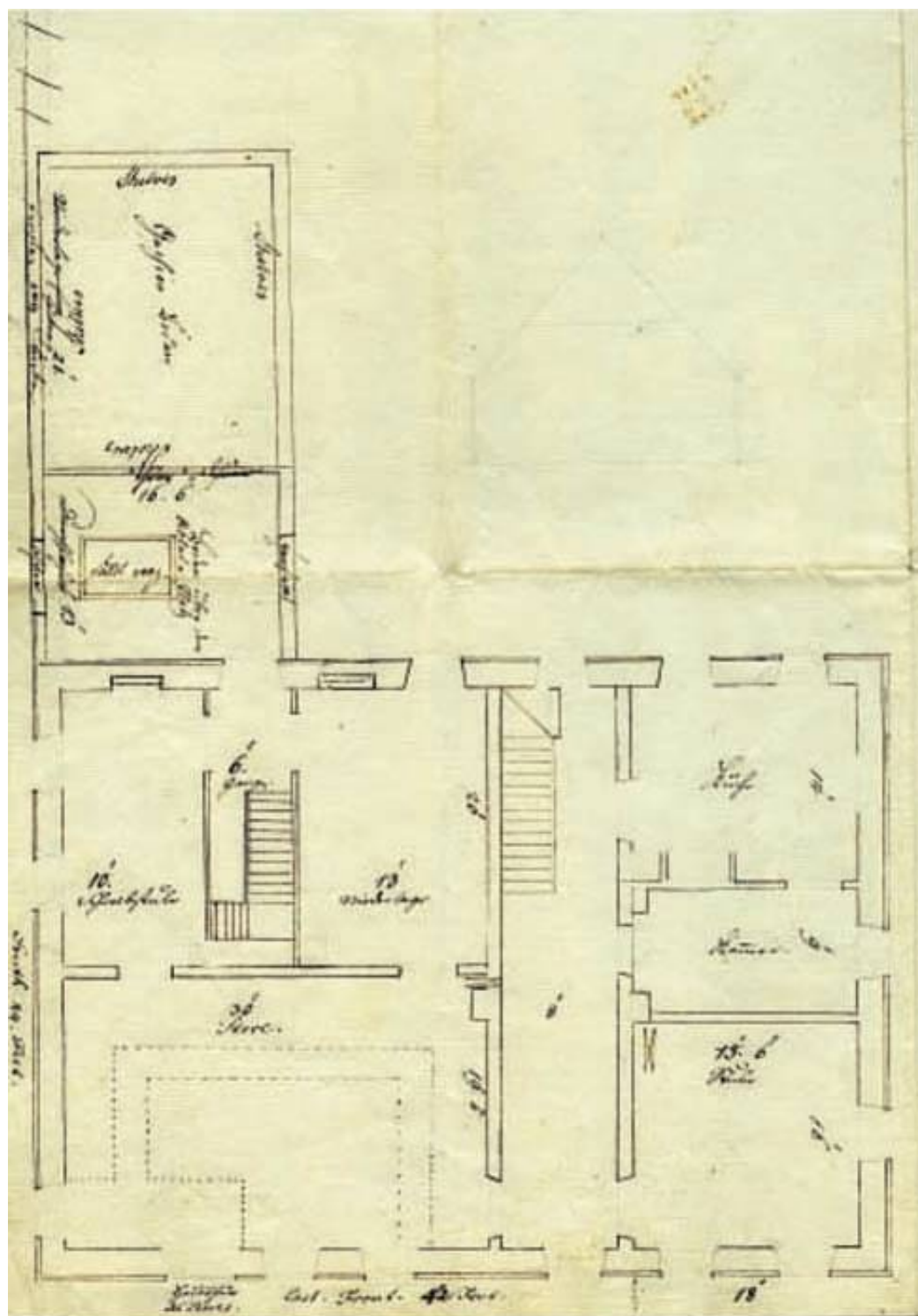
The Single Brethrens House stands 7 ft higher than Reuter's foundation Wall. If therefore a regular Slope be allowed, the Store should be made 2 ft or thereabout, higher than Reuters, the Skinhouse 3 1/2' the private house 5 ft higher, if the Water Course is to be carried regularly into Reuter's Street."

(Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Original in Moravian Archives-Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC.)

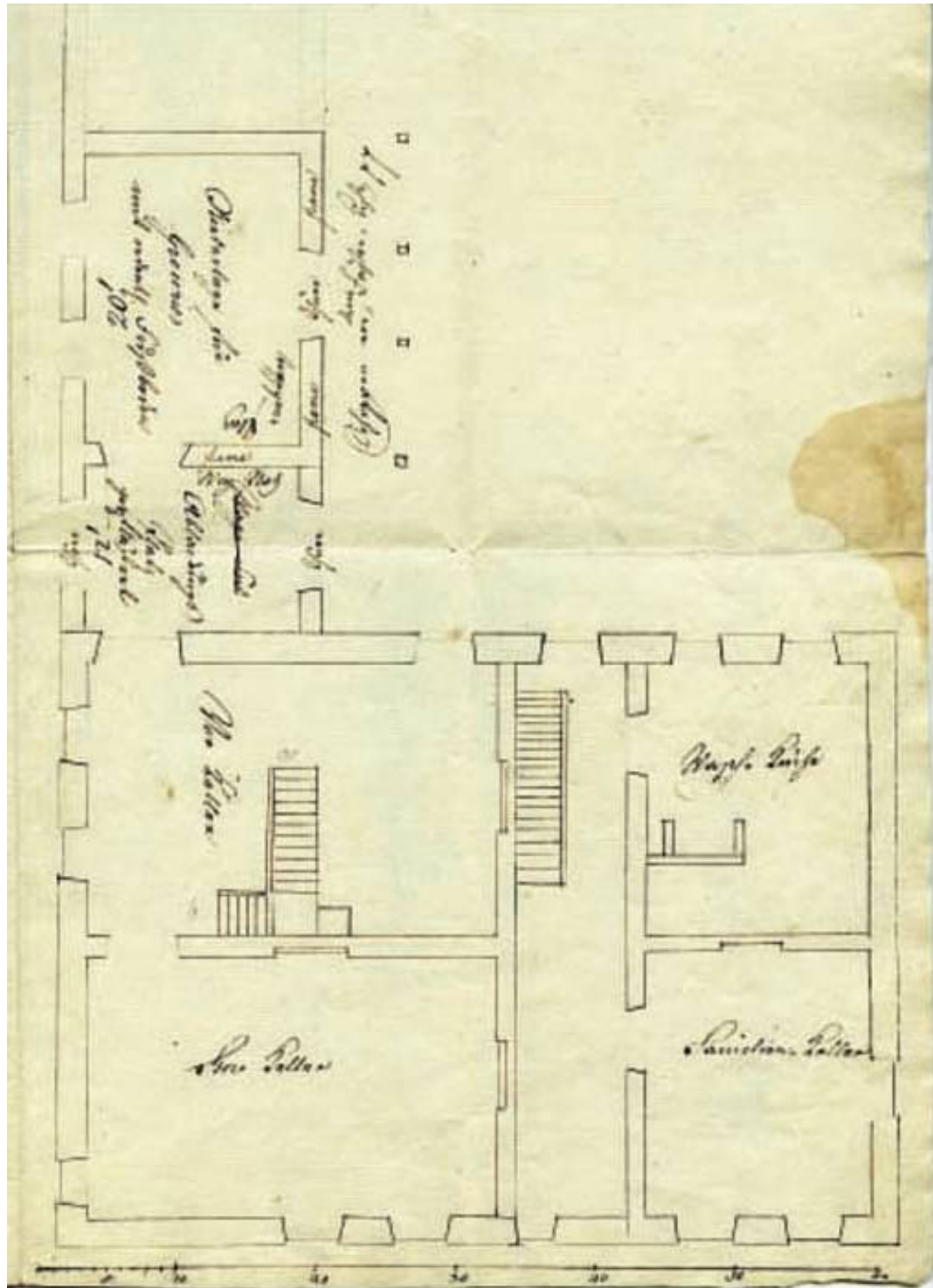
UNDATED PLANS, circa. 1773

Main Floor

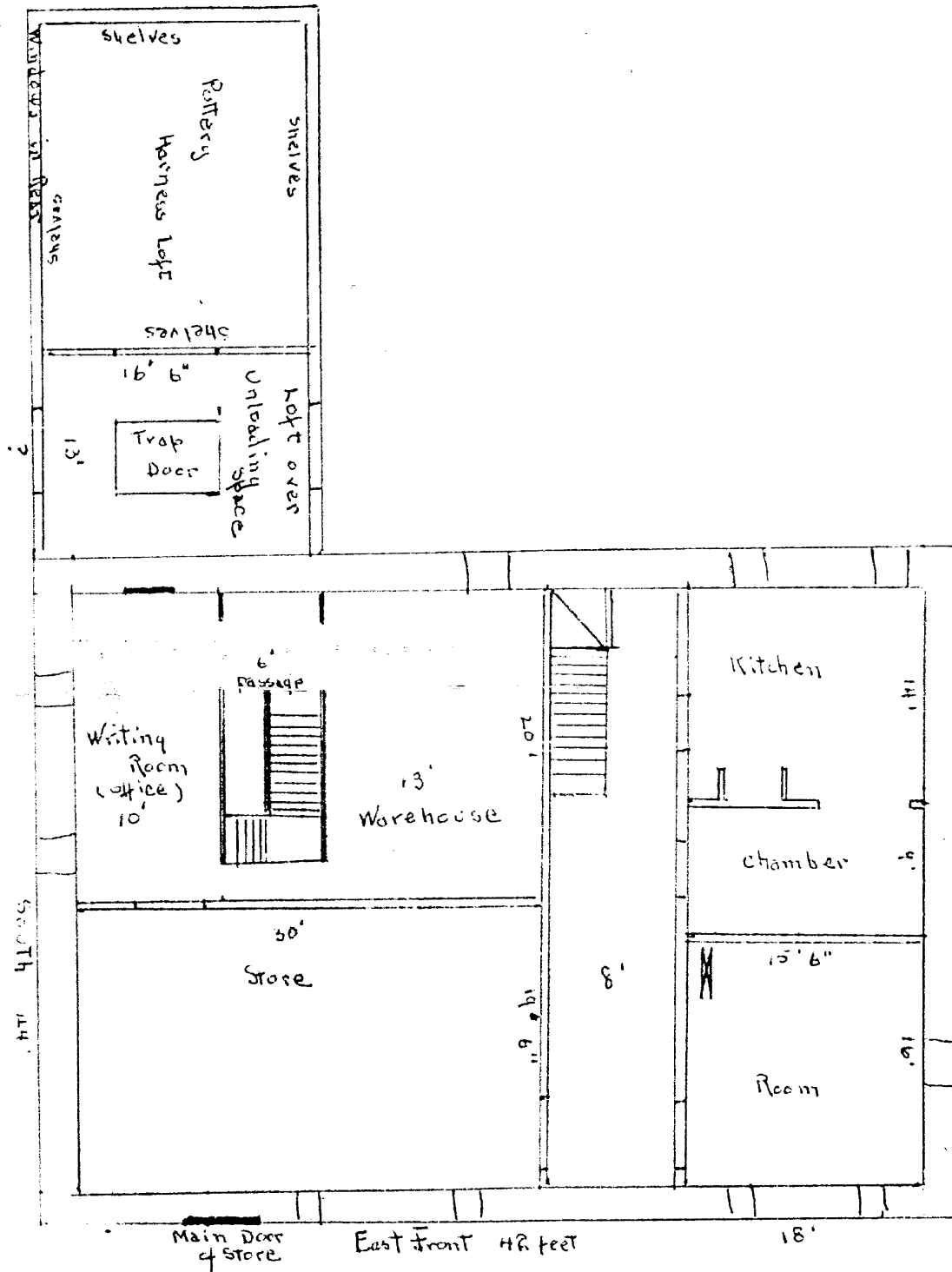
“Street Floor Plan for a Proposed Store in Salem,” Attr. F.W. Marshall



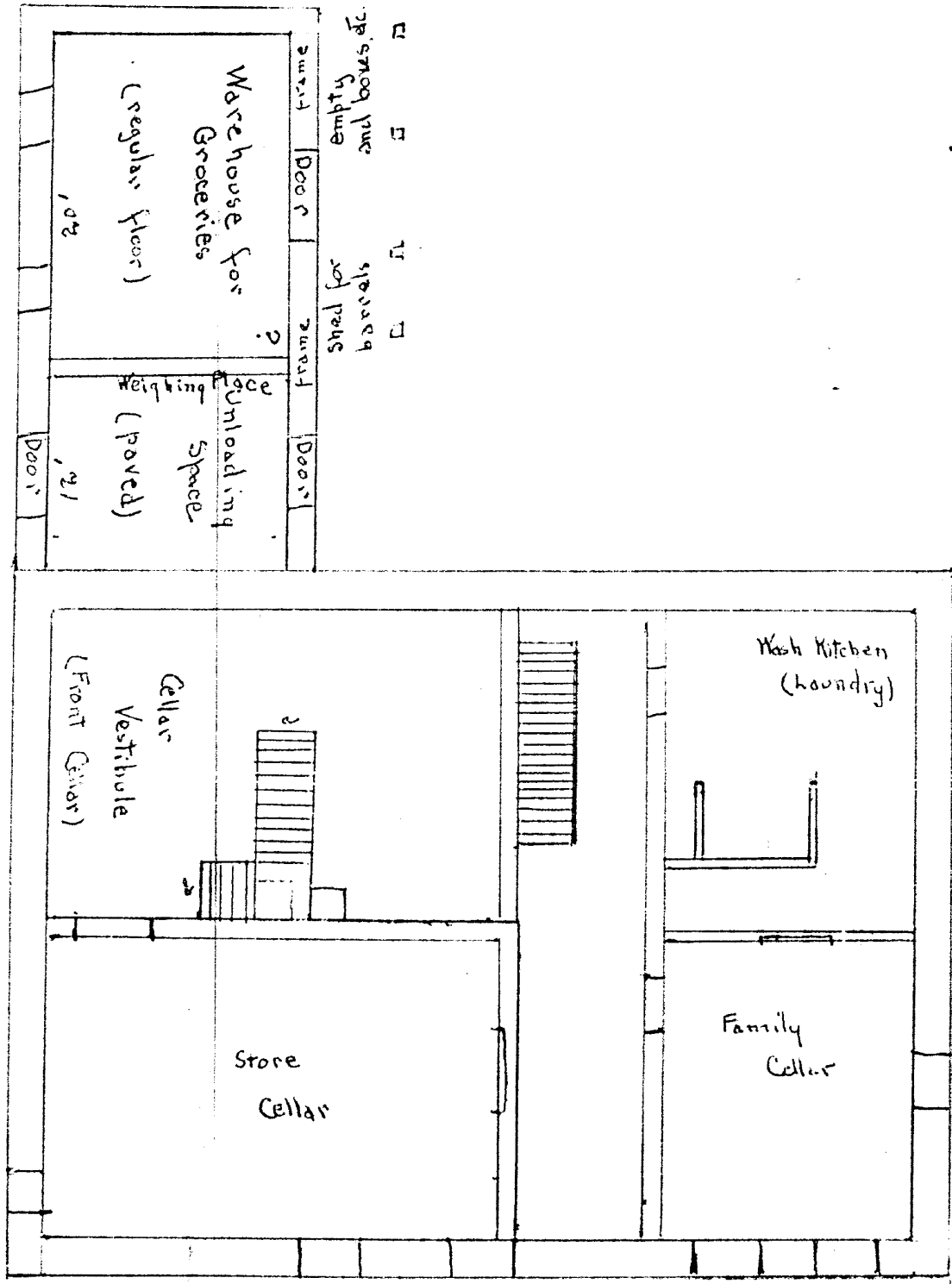
Cellar Floor



UNDATED PLANS, Translation
Main Floor

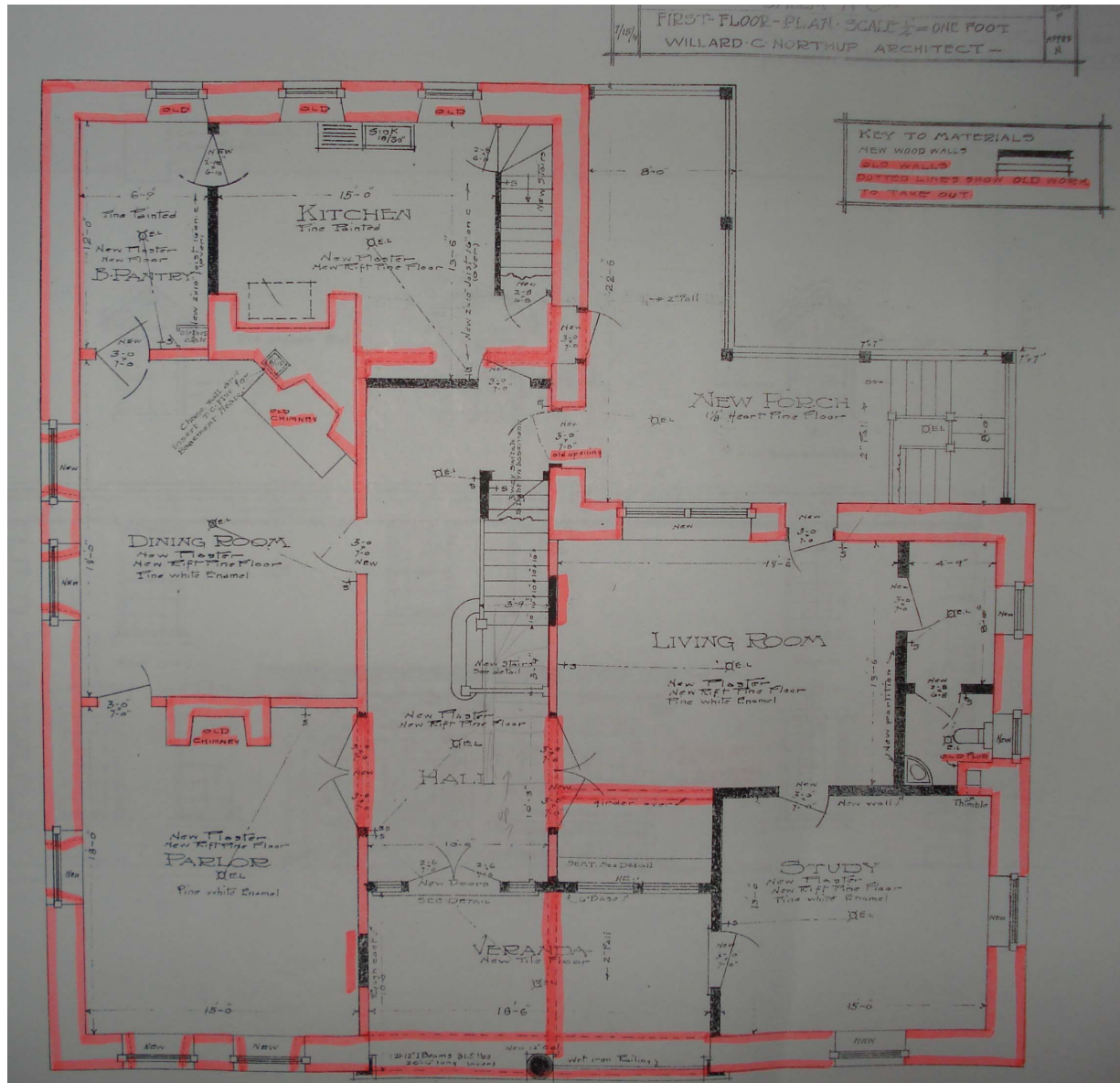


Cellar Floor

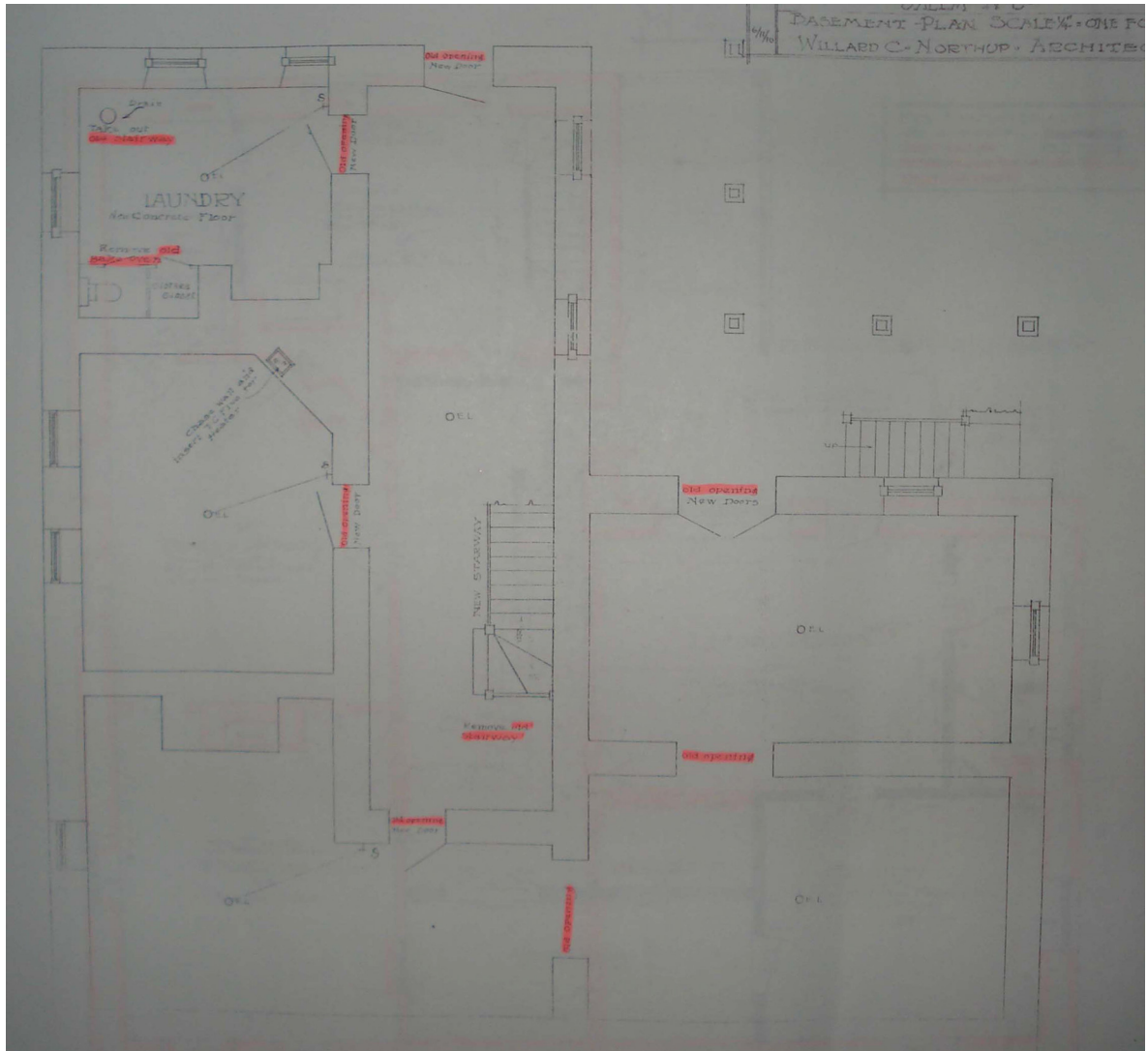


Main Floor

Original Plans for Home Moravian Church Parsonage. Willard C. Northup Architect.

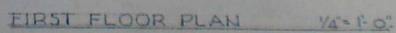


Cellar Floor

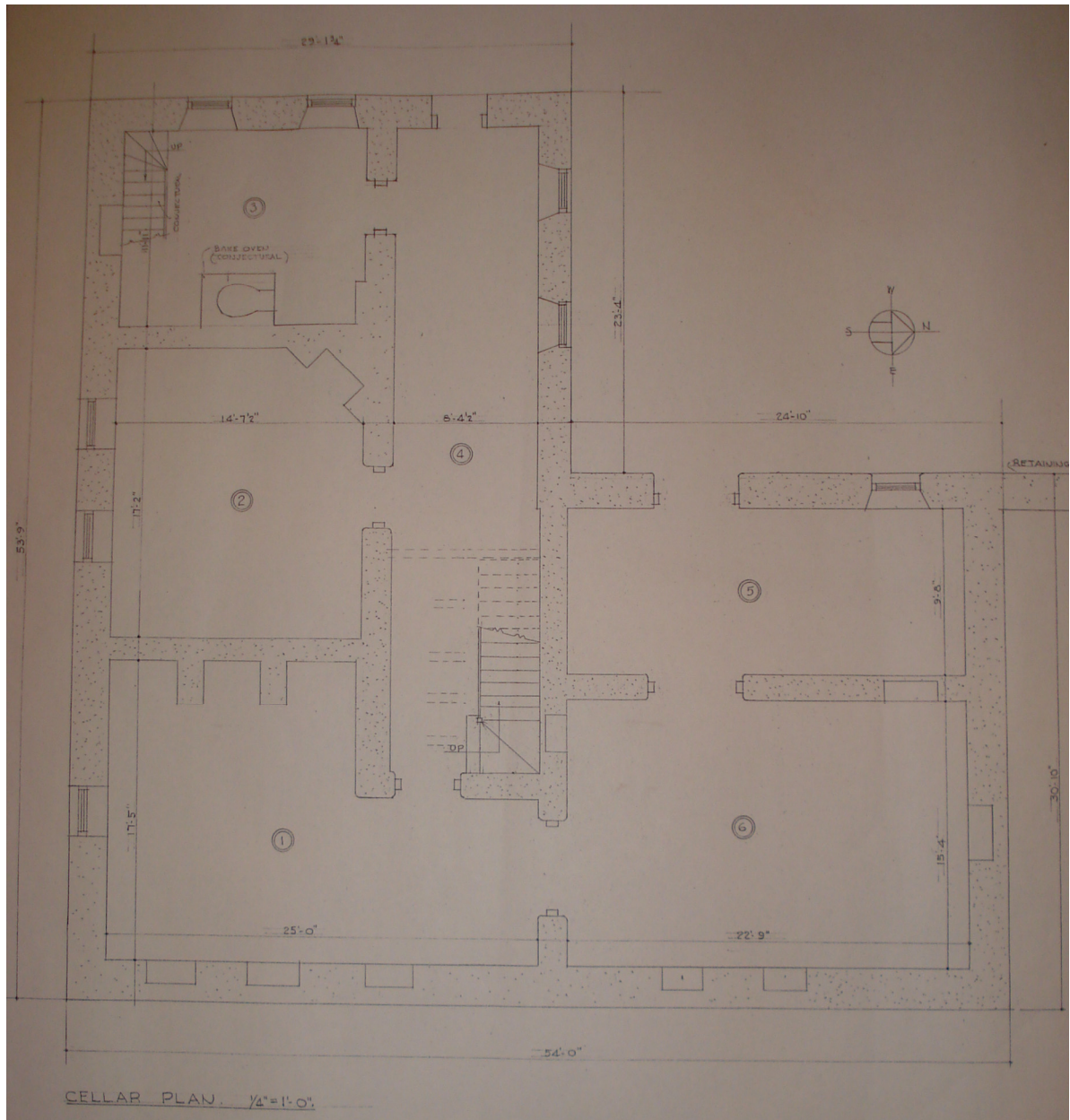


Main Floor

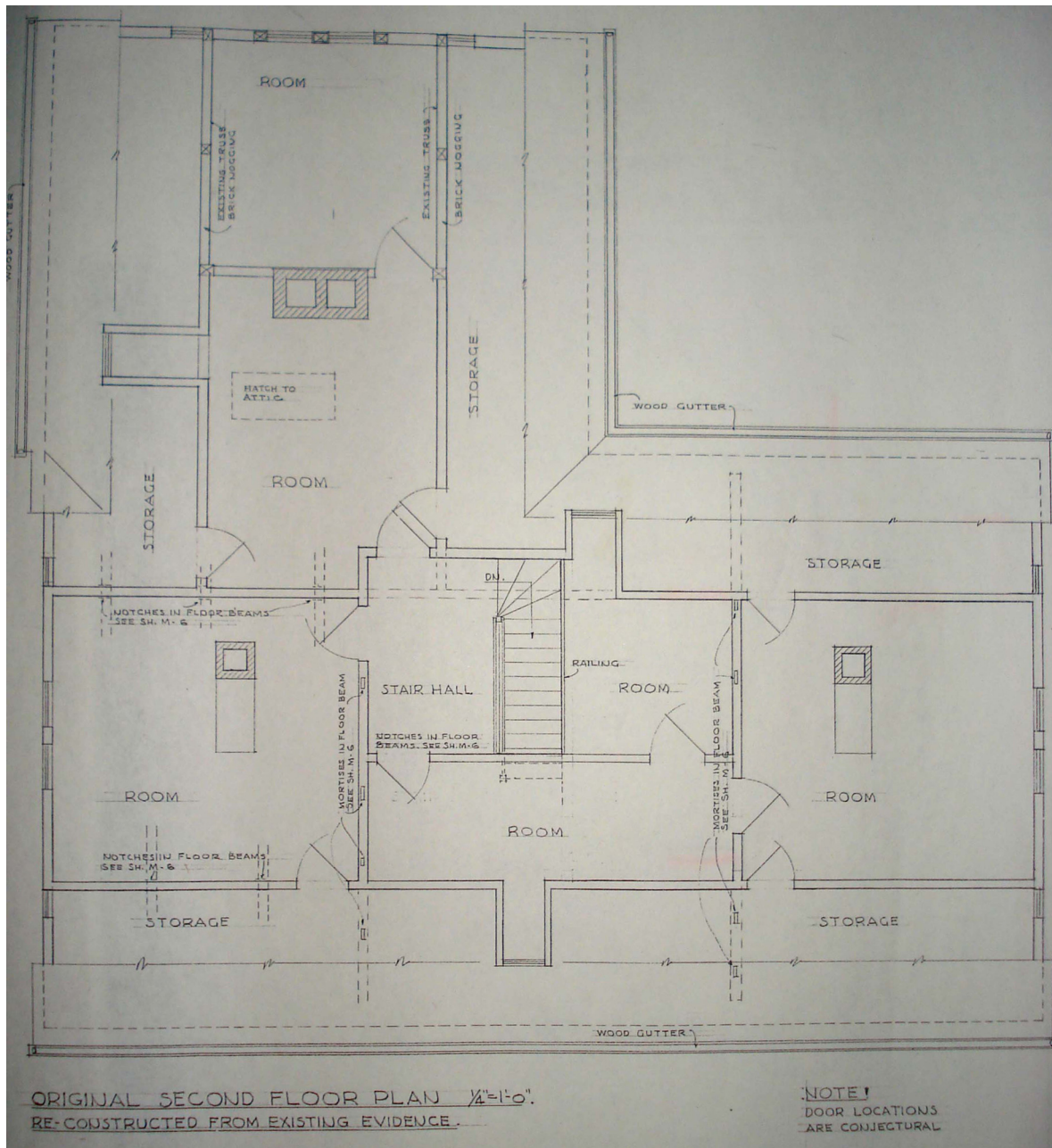
Architects. Boston, Mass.



Cellar Floor



Conjectured Second Floor



MARSHALL'S PLAN				BAGGE'S PLAN			
CODE	ROOM	W x L	SQ. FT.	CODE	ROOM	W x L	SQ. FT
STORE							
Main Level							
MS/A/ S,P	"Store"	30' x 19'6"	585.00	BS/A/ S,P	Store	<u>24' x 26'10"</u> + <u>9' x 10'6"</u>	738.50
MS/B/ S,P?	"Writing Room (Office)"	10' x 20'	200.00	BS/B/ S,P?	Writing Room (Office)?	<u>7' x 10'3"</u>	71.75
MS/C/ S	"Warehouse"	13' x 20'	260.00	BS/C/ S	Warehouse?	<u>7'" x 10' 3"</u>	71.75
MS/D/ S	"Loft over Unloading Space, Trap Door"	16'6" x 13'	214.50				
MS/E/ S	"Pottery, Harness Loft, Shelves"	16'6" x (21')	346.50				
	Store Main Level		1606.00		Store Main Level		882.00
Lower Level							
MS/CA/ S	"Store Cellar"	(29') x (19')	551.00	BS/CA/ S	Store Cellar	<u>22'9"x 15'4"</u>	348.76
MS/CB/ S	"Cellar Vestibule (Front Cellar)"	(9'6") x (19'6")	185.25	BS/CB/ S	Store Cellar	<u>22'9"</u> x <u>9'8"</u>	219.99
MS/CC/ S	[no label]	(12'6") x (19'6")	243.75	BS/CG/ S	Store Cellar ?	<u>25' x 9'6"</u> + <u>14'4" x 7'9"</u>	348.56
MS/CD/ S	"Unloading Space, Weighing Place, (paved)"	(15'6") x 12'	186.00				
MS/CE/ S	"Warehouse for Groceries (regular floor)"	(15'6") x 20'	310.00				

Store Lower Level				1476.00	Store Lower Level				917.31
STORE TOTAL				3082.00	STORE TOTAL				1799.31
HOME									
Main Level									
MH/G/ F, D, P?	“Room”	15’6” x 16’	248.00	BH/G/ F, D, P?	Room	14’9” x 18’3”	269.19		
MH/H/ F, D	“Chamber”	15’6” x 9’	139.50	BH/H/ F, D	Chamber	14’9” x 17’9”	261.81		
MH/I/ F, D, S?	“Kitchen”	15’6” x 14’	217.00	BH/I/ F, D, S?	Kitchen	25’3” x 12’3” + 9’9” x 2’	328.81		
Home Main Level			604.50	Home Main Level			859.81		
Lower Level									
MH/CG/ F, D	“Family Cellar”	(14’6”) x (18’)	261.00	BH/CG/ F, D	Family Cellar	14’8” x 17’2”	251.88		
MH/CH/ F, D	“Wash Kitchen (Laundry)”	(14’6”) x (20’)	290.00	BH/CH/ F, D	Wash Kitchen (Laundry)	14’8” x 11’11”	174.87		
Home Lower Level			551.00	Home Lower Level			426.75		
HOME TOTAL			1706.50	HOME TOTAL			1286.56		
CORRIDORS									
M/F/F, S, D, P?	Corridor, Main	8’ x (40’)	320.00	B/F/F, S, D, P?	Corridor, Main	9’6” x 34’9”	330.13		
M/CF/ F, S, D	Corridor, Lower	(7’) x (39’)	273.00	B/CF/ F, S, D	Corridor. Lower	8’4” x 38’	316.54		
CORRIDOR TOTAL			593.00	CORRIDOR TOTAL			646.67		
TOTAL FOR 2 LEVELS*			5381.50	TOTAL FOR 2 LEVELS*			3732.54		
Store	57.27% of Total	9% MORE		Store	48.21% of Total				
Home	31.71% of Total			Home	34.47% of Total	2.76% MORE			
Corridors	11.02% of Total			Corridors	17.32% of Total	6.30% MORE			

COMPILATION OF ITEMS FROM STORE BUILDING ACCOUNT

ITEM	QUAN.	NOTES	PERSONNEL
Board (room)			
			Johnston & Fletcher
			Meyer (Tavern)
		For the painter	Jac Meyer
			Musksch
	69 ½ days	For Amr. Hamilton, the day laborer	With Shaff?
		Of Vogler & Lips	
	14 days	To Cornl Sale	
	17 days	Of Dantz & L???k	L?????d
Boards			
	2647'		Johnston Martin
Plaining	234?		Johnston Martin
1"	5640'+1158'+440		
½"	420'+642'+220		
	800'		Binkels?
	800'		Sponhauer,
	700'+200'		Strup
Plank	400'		Strup
			Stross?
	700'		Jac. Waggoner?
		From Bethabara	
			Pet. Leonhard
			Heinzmann
		Squared wood sold for fence at Square	
		220 ft Boards a 3/6 sold to the Joiner	

Bolts	4		
Breibach-elm?			
Bricks			
	2,000 26,500 large		Christ. Schmidt
	16,340 small		
		700+2,550 Credit	
		5000 stock @ store	
		150 +1,000 bricks sold	
Carriage			
	7+2days		Schumacher
	7? days		Musksch
		Of scaffolding poles	Seitz
		Of brick & sand	Stockburger
		Of boards	
		From Bethabara Mill	Seitz
		To Binkels (of boards)	
		To Rank (of boards)	
		For carting earth	
		Of stones	Seits?
		For lime to Davis	
		To Abr. Martin	
	3 times	From Mill	Seitz
		To Strup	Schumacher
		To Stockburger of 10,000 bricks	
		Hauling sawlogs	
			Eckel, Single Brethren Seir, Geo. Hauser, Rosenbaum, Ellrod,

			Sponhauer, Tho B????s, Heinzmann, Seitz Joh. Muller, Muh? Hauser, Geo. Hartmann
Cart harness	1		
		Cart sold	
		Traces & gears sold	
Casements	12 large		
Chaff			
Clay		For Tavern	
Fence	28 pannels		
Glue	2#		
Hair			Herbst
Hand? of tools &ec			Toege Nissen
Hinges			
	2 + 5 pr.		
HL	1 +7 + 3 + 2+1pr.		
Small for garrett windows	3 + 2 pr.		
For sellar door	?		
Sundry hinges	?		
Hooks for gates	?		
Hooks	300		
Iron	10#		
Laths			
	3710'	From Bethabara Mill	
		107 laths at 4 ½%	Heinzmann

Lead	3 ½?		
Lime			
	79+38+69+35+35 bu.		
		15 bu. sold	
		16 bu. Transferred to Corpse Chamber	
		15 bu. Credit	
		10 bu. Stock @ store	
		10+6 bu. For Tavern	
		?+9 bu. for Fritz's house	
		1 ½ bu. for Beck	
		2 bu. Holdr house	
		5 bu. Joe ? Baun?	
		1 ½ bu. Bonn	
		2 bu. Aust	
		3 bu. Mei?? & Walter's ? house	
		2 bu. Geo. Frey	
		1 bu. Mart. Hauser	
		1 bu. Salem Diac.	
Locks			
	1 +6 + 3		
Pullback	2		
Large	1		
Cased	1		
Woodlock	1		
For sellar door	1		
And Screws			
Mortar			
		6? for Fritz's house	
		To Salem Diacony	
Mortar board	2	For Tavern ?	

Nails			
	300+500+600+700 +1,000+800+300+700 +100+500+150+		
Large	40+350		
6d	1,000		
30d	3 dz.		
20d	500+6,000		
Lock? Nails	500		
		Per Heinzman for the same?	
		Nails 7/3 paid Fdrpatrick	
Paint & supplies			
Figblue	$\frac{3}{4}$ #		Bresing
Spanish brown, whiting & umbra			Bresing
Litharge			Aust
Litharge & red lead			
Whiting & umbra			
Whiting & white lead	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ #		
Whitewashing brushes	3		
Painters' pots			Aust
Sand			Stockburger- carriage
Saw logs	10		Kruger
Scaffold	200'	200' boards Transferred to Corpse Chamber	
Screws	9?+7 dz.+		

Woodscrews			
Shingles			
	15,500 + 1200		
			Wolf
Shingling			Johnson & Fletchers
		4700 transferred to Corpse Chamber	
		? deduct for shingles sold	
		70 for tavern	
Shingle nails	1560		
Shutters			
With hinges & hooks	6		
With hinges & screws	2 + 4		
Sprigs			
	900+500+500+500+ 400+100+		
Sprigs & nails			
Straw			
			Geo. Hauser
		Bethabara	
Stones			
Breaking large stones			
		80 wagonloads stones taken into stock at store	
		Sundry stones to Herbst	
Stoves	2 + 2		Aust
Tens?, single	1,000		
Thumblatches	2		

Timber			Single Brethren
Tools			
			Melch. Rasp
Hire for tools			
Victuals & drink			
			Tavern
Wine		At beginning the work	
		For Sundry persons for raising the roof	
Whiskey			Heinzman
Money for bread			
Beer & liquors			Meyer (Tavern)
Brandy			
Windows, Doors			
Window glass	2 ¼ box		
Doors, windows, glazing, ???			Joiners
Wood			
	56?	Bethabara	
		From Holder's plantation	
Some window wood?			
		Transferred Bethabara Diac.	
		Some wood as Store stock	
Work, Misc.			
Carpenters work		Including ladder	
Carpenters work			Triebel, Hein & Strehle
Joiners work			Bressings, Heinzmann
For stairs			Joiners

Joiners work, boards & carriage			Heinzmann
			Masons
Rangers bill			Reuter, Holder
Smith's bill			Lund
Bill for laborers for smithing			Nico. Lund
Squaring wood			Triebel
Sundry work			John Lips
Snigging? wood, plowing			Single Brethren
Daylabor			Holland, Sundry persons
Raising roof			Sundry persons
Paving & work at firehearths			Melch. Rasp
Work at the spouts			Valentine Beck
Digging a watershed			Fitzpatrick
Work to Nov. (Jan entry)			Geo. Smiths
Work done last Sumer			Musksch
Extra work at Saw Mill			
The digging of Earth carried away			
Piling up wood			Triebel
Carting earth			Stockburger

Sweeping the chimneys			Oesterlein
Walling a place for ashes			
	3 weeks		Masons & Labourers
	8 days work		Jacob the Negroe
		Overcharge in work	Geo. the Negroe
Tools	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ days work		Melchor Rasp
	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ days work		Jarvis
	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ days work		Roser?
	3 mon. work		Geo. the Negroe
	1 month		Negroe
	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ days work		Musksch
	69 $\frac{1}{2}$ days work		Amb. Hamilton, the daylaborer
	4 days work		?
	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ days work		Dantz?
	16 days work		L???k
	1 days work		Blum
			Samboe, Schneider, Strehles, Geo. Smith, Corn. Sale & his people, Klotz, Triebel, Musksch, Roser, Jarvis, Schumacher, Stockburger, Henry the Negroe, Holland, Sundry persons, Sam Stotz, Gopfert, Zillman, Utley, Volk? Dantz, ???ng, Triebel,

			Fisher, Rasp, Bloom & Rasp, Blum, Heckewelder
--	--	--	---

NOTE: Every attempt was made to accurately record and compile this information. However, although the original Store Building Account is in English, is very difficult to read for two reasons: 1) it is written in script which is often difficult to read, and 2) the ink apparently shows through from one side of the paper, making some areas illegible. Therefore, this is not a complete compilation, but does nonetheless provide enlightening information regarding the construction of the Store in Salem.

As this document is an account, it does provide monetary amounts for items. Amounts in denominations of English currency, pounds, shillings and pence, have been not been considered in this research. With a great deal of time and patience, additional information could be gleaned from a cost analysis of the items in this document.

STORE BUILDING FENESTRATION								
ROOM	WINDOWS				DOORS			
	#	LOCA-TION	ORIEN-TATION	STYLE	#	LOCA-TION	ORIEN-TATION	SIZE
MAIN LEVEL								
STORE								
Store	2	Front	East	9-over-6	1	Front	East	Single
	1	Side	North	9-over-6				
	1 ?	Rear	West	9-over-6	1 ?	Rear	West	Single
	It is conjectured by this researcher that the Rear-West restored window was a door opening to allow for hoisting barrels and other merchandise into the store from below. This would require the addition of another window to make the 12. See Home-Kitchen, below.							
Office	1	Rear	West	9-over-6	1	Side	North	Single
Warehouse	1	Rear	West	9-over-6				
CORRIDOR								
Corridor	1	Front	East	9-over-6	1	Front	East	Single
					1	Rear	North	Single
HOME								
Room	2	Front	East	9-over-6				
	1	Side	South	9-over-6				
Chamber	2	Side	South	9-over-6				
Kitchen	3	Rear	West	6-over-6				
	1 ?	Side	North	9-over-6				
	There is an existing window niche in the Side-North location of the Kitchen. It is the same size as the 9-over-6 windows, thus it is conjectured that there was a window originally in this location.							
LOWER LEVEL								
STORE								
Cellar, NE	2	Front	East	2-pane				
	1 ?	Side	North	2-pane				
Cellar, NW	1	Rear	West	6-over-6	1	Rear	West	Double
Cellar, SE	3	Front	East	2-pane				
CORRIDOR								
Corridor	2	Rear	North	6-over-6	1	Rear	West	Single

HOME								
Cellar	2	Side	South	2-pane				
Wash Kitchen	2	Rear	West	6-over-6				
	1 ?	Side	South	2-pane				
SECOND LEVEL								
ABOVE STORE								
East/ Central	1	Front dormer	East	6-over-6				
West/ Central	1	Rear dormer	West	6-over-6				
North	2	Side	North	6-over-6				
West Storage	1	Side	North	4-pane				
East Storage	1	Side	North	4-pane				
STAIR HALL								
Stair Hall		(lit by rear dormer window)						
ABOVE HOME								
West	2	Rear	West	6-over-6				
Central	1	Side dormer	South	6-over-6				
North Storage	1	Rear	West	4-pane				
South Storage	1	Side	South	4-pane				
South/ East	2	Side	South	6-over-6				
East Storage	1	Side	South	4-pane				

SECOND FLOOR

(Reconstructed from existing evidence, 1954)

CODE	ROOM	W x L	SQ.FT.	NOTES
ABOVE STORE				
B	East/Central	<u>19'4" x 6'3"</u>	129.81	Front (East) dormer w/ window; Over corridor & store; Passage room
B	West/Central	<u>8'10" x 8'2"</u>	82.17	Back (West) dormer w/ window; Over store; Railing to stair, no wall (dormer window lights stair)
B	North	<u>15'9" x 14'9"</u>	232.31	2 (North) windows; Over store; Chimney in middle room; 2 Knee wall storage spaces 117.00 sq. ft, 99.75 sq. ft.
LIVING SPACE ABOVE STORE			444.29	
Additional Storage Above Store			216.75	
STAIR HALL				
B	Central Stair Hall	<u>7' x 10'</u>	70.00	
ABOVE HOME				
B	West	<u>12' x 12'</u>	144.00	2 (West) windows; Over kitchen; Chimney creates east wall
B	Central	<u>12' x 16'6"</u>	208.09	Side (South) dormer w/window; Over chamber; Chimney in middle room; 2 knee wall storage spaces 9.37 sq. ft 58.19 sq. ft.;
B	South/East	<u>16' x 14'9"</u>	236.00	Hatch to attic; 2 (South) windows; Over "room"; Chimney in middle of room; Knee wall storage space 87.19 sq. ft; By stairs
LIVING SPACE ABOVE HOME			588.09	
Additional Storage Above Home			154.75	

TOTAL ATTIC LIVING SPACE	1032.38
Total Additional Attic Storage	377.50

1756 VALUE OF COMMODITIES

Wachovia Decbr. 24. 1756.

Whereas several of our Neighbors has very often an occasion to come to our Shops or Trades, for the several things they want, and Money being very scarce to be got; we do therefore acquaint our Neighbors , that we are willing to take instead of ready Money other Things.

Viz:	Wheat p Bushel	2	shill	6	pence
	Rye-----	2	----	0	-----
	Barley-----	2	----	6	-----
	Indian Corn----	1	----	3	-----
	Hatcheld Flax p Pound	1	----	0	-----
	Hampe-----	0	----	4	-----
	Butter-----	0	----	5	-----
	Bear Bacon-----	0	----	4	-----
	Hog Bacon-----	0	----	5	-----
	Hog Meat p Hundred	12	----	0	-----
	Beaver furr p Pound	4	----	0	-----
	Raccoon furr p Skin	0	----	9	-----
	Fox furr-----	1	----	0	-----
	Deer Skins p Pound	1	----	3	-----
	Neats Hides when the are dry p Pound	0	----	2 ³ / ₄	-----
	Tallow p Pound	0	----	4	-----

Provided always that every Thing must be not only as what some will call merchantable; but actually good, and so we shall take the above mentioned Things at the above mentioned rates so long till we alter either some or all.

(OS. NC.M Mfm. 15)

GOODS SOLD/PRODUCTS BOUGHT				
YEAR	GOODS SOLD		PRODUCTS BOUGHT	
1772				
	Nachrichten		Barley	
	Wilmington newspaper		Chestnuts	
	Sugar		Corn	
	Coffee		Deer skins	
	Clothing			
	Saddler's supplies			
	Salt			
1773	*(Lititz PA, Inventory of the Store: L800. 9. 3 ¾ Lititz, Outstanding Debts: L27. 5. 7)			
1774				
	Bells		Painter [panther] skins **	
	Sole leather		Furs	
	Shoes		Butter	
	Plumbers' wares		Leather breeches	
	Powder		Deer skins	
	"fresh goods"			
1775				
	Lead		Butter	
	Salt		Tallow	
	Tea		Deer skins	
	Dye kettle		Corn	
	Material for Single Brothers' trades		Linen	P
	Osnabrugs (yds)		Woolen cloth	P
	Russia drill (yds)		Iron for needles	P
	Russia duck (yds)		Knitting needles	P
	Button moulds (string)		Merchant flour	
	Thread (ozs)		Candles	N
	Articles of clothing		Tallow	N
	Saddlery work	H	Manufactured tobacco	N
			Wheat	
			Meat	
			Flax	
			Negroes	

1776				
	Powder		Cornmeal	
	Lead		Meat	
	Shot		Forage	T
	Sugar		Wax	
	Coffee		Tallow	
	Tobacco		wheat	
	Thread		corn	
	Needles		Bread	T
	Tape		Meat	T
	Provisions	T	Deer skins	
	Flints		lard	
	Indigo		Hog meat	
	Brown sugar		grain	
	Wine (from West Indies)		Farm products	
	Tea			
	Sugar (hogsheads)			
	"many things"			
	Wine (half pipe)			
	Fish oil (cask)			
	Common rations	T		
	Gunpowder			
	Gunlock			
	Bell			
	Corn	T		
	Fresh meat	T		
	Salt	T		
	Wheat flour	T		
	"flower"			
	Sundrys			
	Barrels			
	Hogsheads			
	Iron			
	Steel			
	Pepper			
1777	Cash in hand: L774. 5. 5 Goods in Salem Store & abroad: L2952. 6. 9 Inventory of Bethabara Store: L273.10. 2 Balance of Sundries advanced by the Store to the Diacony since the			

	last Inventory: L660. 9. 8 Other Debtors, that remain in Storebooks: L858.--. 9 Sundry uncertain Debtors: L262. 8. 8 Utensils in Salem Store: L16.--.— 1 Horse, 2 Sables, 1 Bridle: L15.--.— Salem Storehouse Building, Materials included: L158.11. 3 Surplus: L1060.10. 9 T Bagge's 10%: L106. 1.--			
	Rum		Tobacco	
	Molasses			
	Sugar			
	Coffee			
	Salt			
	Tobacco			
1778				
	Rice		Butter	
	Coffee		Tobacco	
	Sugar		Flour	T
	Manufactured articles		Wheat	
	Salt (barrels)		Corn	
	Fish oil (barrel)			
	Indigo			
	Clothing	T		
	Ammunition (stopped sale of powder)			
1779				
	Salt, fine & coarse		Deer skins	
	Nachrichten		Cotton (from Friedland store)	
	Copper		Yarn	
	"little ABC books"		Letters	
	Letters		Tobacco	
	Shoes	A		

	Pottery	A		
	Iron			
	Coffee			
	Sugar			
	Negroes			
	Sole leather			
	Worm for distillery			
	Tested weights & measures			
	Set of joiners' tools			
	Store goods			
	Brandy			
	Tea			
	Provisions			
	Wine			
	Rum			
	Gun (as agent?)			
	Negro Jacob			
	Oats			
	Bulls			
	Corn (bushels)			
	Hog meat			
	Rye			
1780	Cash in hand: L639. 9.11 Goods in the Store and abroad: L3173. 5. 4 Sundry Debts, valued at: L608.14. 6 Bad and lost debts: L818.11. 4 Utensils as last year: L29. 9. 9 1 Horse, 2 Sables, 1 Bridle: L12.--.— Building Materials, on hand: L20. --.-- Loss in this Year: L663. 6.10			
	Books from Barby & England	B	2 beef oxen	T
	New hymn books of the Unity	B		
	Spangenberg's Short Account	B		
	Layriz on the Instruction of Children	B		

	History of Mission in St. Thomas	B		
	English History of the Church of the Brethren (for congregation & for "private parties")	B		
	Leather			
	Salt			
	Rice			
	Brandy	T		
	Leather	T		
	Iron	T		
	Tambour embroidery supplies (requested by the Single Sisters)			
	Iron			
	Mattocks			
	Shovels			
	Spades			
	Iron farm implements			
	Iron or steel cow bells			
	Dressed deer skins			
	Leather breeches			
	Coarse wool hats			
	Finer hats			
	Other wares			
	Bricks			
	Quires fine paper			
	Bags			
	Iron pot			
	Expenses of a journey, Gen. Gates			
1781				
	Cattle	T	Rough deer skins	
	Meal	T	butter	
	Brandy	T	pork	
	Nails			
	Grain			
	Corn	T		
	Salt	T		
	Iron	T		
	Deer skins (large quantity)	T		
	Meat	T		
	Bread	T		
	Horses (belonging to Store & Dr.)	T		
	Some goods			

	Various necessities of life			
	Shoes	T		
	Saddle tacks			
	Shoe leather	T		
	Sole leather	T		
	Uper leather	T		
	Provisions	T		
	Forage (for 3 mon. for 2000 men & horses)	T		
	Load of goods			
	Nachrichten	B		
	Letters			
	1 st part of 1782 Text	B		
	Lock			
	Hinges			
	Nails			
	Quire brown paper			
	Spikes			
	Oats, tar, & hire of a Waggon Screw for journey			
	Lime (bushels)			
	White clay			
1782				
	indigo			
	Leather breeches		Tobacco	
	Schober's Beutlerie (tailor shop)		Wool	
	Iron tools (to order from Lititz)		Cotton	
	Grubbing hoes (to order from Lititz)		Pieces of linen	
	Large cleavers (to order from Lititz)		Tanned hides	
	Shovels (to order from Lititz)		Butter	
	Boards			
	Shingles			
	Wheelbarrows			
	Handsaw			
	Flooring nails			
	Quire paper			
	Bricks			
	Wine			
	Rheam postpaper			
	Bar iron			

	Steel			
	lead			
1783	*(Bethlehem PA, Store Inventory: L1187.17.11 $\frac{3}{4}$ Bethlehem, Sundry Utensils belonging to the Store: L47.15.--)			
	Goods for the store			
	2 D# horns (order for Salem)			
	A good bass (order for Salem)			
	Set of trombones (order for Salem)			
	Supply of strings of various kinds (order for Salem)			
	Cotton check			
	Furniture check			
	Corduroy			
	Jugs & covers			
	Tea pott			
	Door handles compleat			
	Pincers			
	T hinges			
	H hinges			
	Screws			
	Stick locks			
	Spring bolts			
	L Bands & Gudgeons			
	Watch chains			
	Buttons (gross)			
	Spectacles			
	Bath coating (yds)			
	Buckram			
	Shallon			
	Mix'd Broad Cloth			
	Twist (sticks)			
	Double Groce Buttons			
	Worsted Binding			
	Coat & Breast buttons			
	Blanketts			
	Men's rib ^d worsted hose			
	Men's white hose			
	Ream paper			

	Train oil (bar ^l)			
	Chocolate (lbs)			
	Koffy (130 lb bag)			
	Sugar (barrel)			
	Whip saw			
	English Glass 9 x 11 (box)			
	Dowlas (6 ps) Platilses ? (1 ps) Garlix (1 ps) Brown Holland (1ps) Royal Bassins (2 ps) Muslin (1ps) Red & blue Check (17 ½ yds) Superfine 5/4 Stripes (6 yds) Fine Check (12 yds) Longlawn (8 yds) Golges ? Flanell (2 ps) Golges ? Flanell (13 ½ yds) Dark Callicoe (3 ps, total 66 ¼ yds) Dark Callicoe (28 ells, total 37 yds) Red Dark Callicoe (2 ps, total 24 yds) Red Dark Callicoe (24 ells) Dark Callicoe (2 ps, total 44 ½ Ells) Light grod Callo (16 Ells) Cambric (1 ps) Silesia Cambric (1 ps) Lawn (2 ps) Silk hanekfs, sorted (46) Pocket hanekfs (2 ½ dz) Black Lace (4 ps) Sundry Chintz & Callo Remt (94 yds) Turkey Cotton (2 ½ lb?) Sett brown Desden China (1 set) Sett blue Dresden China (2 sets) Setts Cups & Saucers (12 sets)			
1784	Cash in hand: L186. 5. – Goods in the Store and abroad, including leather breeches: L5335. 13. 7 ½ Inventory of Bethabara Store: L448.10.-- Sundry Debtors, Governor's Warrants, Tickets and Demands:			

	L3517.16.11, valued at L2304.12.— Utensils valued as last year: L25.--.— 2 Sables and Bridles: L4.--.— 1 Horse: L12.--.— Bricks on hand: L5.--.-- Overplus: L2495.15. 8 T Bagge's 10%: L249.11. 6			
	Gloves made by Single Sisters (stopped carrying in March)		Milk	
	Bibles & Testaments	B		
	Salt			
	Nails			
	Books from Barby (time to order)	B		
	Gemein Nachrichten	B		
	Letters			
	Molasses (cask)			
	Sugar (Bll)			
	Rice (cask)			
	Coffee (Bll)			
	Wine (Bll)			
	Soal leather (sides)			
	Tallow (Bll)			
	Tobacco (Hhd)			
	Gun powder			
	Leather breeches			
1785	Cash in hand: L491. 9. 4 Goods in Salem Store and abroad: L6401.--. 2 Inventory of Bethabara Store: L583. 8. 3 Sundry Debtors, Governors Warrants, Notes, Tickets: L3629. 3. 3, valued at L2331. 2. 2			

	Utencils in Salem Store as last year: L25.--.— One Negro Boy with Schulz: L60.--.— 2 Sadles, 2 Bridles: L4.--.— 1 Horse: L12.--.— Bricks on hand: L5.--.— Advance to Salem Diacony since April 39 th 1784: L650.14. 9 Overplus: L3212. 6. 6 T Bagge's 10%: L321. 4. 4			
	Saddles		Tobacco	
	Choral book	B	Hides	
	Text Books	B	Dressed skins	
	Letters		Elk skins	
	Nachrichten	B	wheat	
	Fire engines (from Gnadenberg)		Corn	
	Musical instruments		Rye	
	Coffee (cask)		Brandy	
	Cloth			
	Soal leather Iron for the Engine Answered Evans for fetching 40 bushels Lime Handsaw Answered Colonel James Martin Spike, Gimblet Rod iron, bar iron Cash paid Iron hoops Spanish brown, brush Spikes White lead Whiting Lead		Tallow by Toge Nissen 795 hairy Deerskins sent to Charleston to Ship to John Wollin in London Carriage of same 313 Deerskins, Cask, drest (ship as above) Drest Deerskins to Deutsch Negro hire in Charleston	

	Pair shovel and tongs Rod iron Whitewash brushes Thousand 6d nails Hinges, screws Red Chalk Flat bolts Sundry books from Barby File Brass kettle Screwplate Powder Auger half inch 500 duple tens Whiting Linseed oil (quarts) H Hinges Latches Locks Staples Screws Window shutter hinges bolts			
1786	Cash in Hand: L1025. 8.— Goods in Salem Store and abroad: L5149.19. 9 Inventory of Bethabara Store: L654. 2. 3 Sundry Debtors, Governors Warrants, Tickets, &c: L4173. 1. 5, valued at L2703. 7. 3 Utencils as last year: 25.--.— 2 Sadles, 2 Bridles: L3.--.— 1 Horse: L12.--.— Bricks on hand: L4.10.— 1 Negro Boy with Godfrey Schulz: L60.--.--			

	Overplus: L1945. 1. 9 T Bagge's 10%: L194.10. 2			
	Coffee (bag)		Butter	
	Soal leather (sides)		Tallow (Bll)	
	6d nails		Tobacco (Hhd)	
	Sundries		Wax	
	Spermacity Oil (cask)			
	Letters			
	Grain			
	Tinware			
	Nachrichten			
	Brushes, indico Window bolts Brads Iron for Waterwork Panee Window glass for the Mill Shovel & tongs Saw Handkerchief Callicoe (11 pc, total 132 ³ / ₄ yds) Callicoe Remments (21) Cotton hdkfs sorted (1 dz) Turkey Red Sup fn Cotton hdkfs (1 dz) Turkey blue Sup fn Cotton hdkfs (1 dz) White Check'd Sup fn Cotton hdkfs (dz) Fine checked Linnen hdkfs (1 dz) German Strip Apron Tapes (1 dz) German Strip sup fine Apron Tapes (2/3 dz) German Strip fine Apron Tapes (1/3 dz) Dimithy (2 ps) Round hatt Looping (4 ?) Bumburn (1 ps) Striped Muslin (1 ps) Flowd Muslin (1 ps) Plain Muslin (1 ps) Cotton Stripes (31 ¹ / ₂ yds) Fine flowd Lawn hdkfs (1 dz) Japanned Tobacco boxes (78)	B	749 Deerskins sent to be Shipd in Charleston to John Wollin in London Planks from the Mill Wheat	
1787				
	Powder		Tobacco	
	Text Books	B	400 large dressed deer	

			skins	
	Bottles (cask)		600 small dressed deer skins	
	Rice (Busl)		Tobacco (Hhd)	
	Barrel		Whiskey	
	Herrings (cask)		Salem Diary (to Europe)	
	Sugar (Barl)		Salem Memorabilia (to Europe)	
	Salt Petre			
	Oranges			
	Nachrichten	B		
	Letters			
	Spade Hoe Coilrope Line Small tacks Bolting Cloth Linnen Tow linnen Chisel Needles Candlestick Files Nails			
1788				
	The new Hymn Book	B	Wheat	
	<i>Idea Fidei Fratrum</i>	B	Butter	
			Tobacco	
			Linen	
			Cotton	
			Flax	
1789				
	Nachrichten	B	Letters (to Europe)	
	Br. Loskiel's <u>History of Missions Among the Indians</u> (24 copies)	B	Diaries (to Europe)	
	Spelling books for our children (150 copies)	B		
	Clout nails Scythe Gimblets Brimstone Plane iron			

	Nails, 20 penny, 8 penny File Spikeiron Steel Small spigs & nails		Brandy	
	1 years Subscription to the American Museum; from June 1792 to 1793 (?) Subscription for 1 years to the Asylum or Columbian Magazine beginning with Dec 31 1791-Dec 31 1792 (?) Bartram Travels thro' North & South Carolina (?) Sheridans Dictionary (?)	B B	Day labor	
1793				
	Text Books	B	Large quantity flour	
	1 st months of Doctrinal Texts	B		
	Copies of memorial hymns sung for Spangenberg in Herrnhut			
	Music for new liturgies sent by Br. Gregor			
	Letters			
	Nachrichten	B		
	Br. Joseph's [Spangenberg] Memoir			
1794				
	Pipe heads (made at pottery?)			
	Coffee Sugar Teneriffe wine, iron bound cask Cotton check Blue ground Pocket Handkerchiefs Dry white Lead Box Glass Whiteing, Keg HL Hinges Door locks with brass handles Complete Screws Spades 2 Ten Plate Stoves Bell, 21 lbs			

	Keg ground Ginger Wire scives for Masons Flat point nailes (cask) Rose nails fine (Keg) Copper wash kettle 1 doz. kives & forks Plaster Parris (bushels) English Pencels Napels Yellow Fine English Tin Barr Lead 2 Rittenhouse Improved Stoves Red lead (cask) Letterage Carey book on the Yellow Fever Blue Smalt Keg Soder Nice Linen Red Ground Handkfs	B		
	Topbeds of 5 to Down, 3 breadths 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ell Cotton (7) Topbeds of 5 to Down, middle fine Cotton (4) Topbeds of 5 to Down, 10 Ell Linnen (2)			
1795				
			Deerskins	
1796				
	Manufactured articles		Deerskins	
	2 Doz. Hymn Books in a Box			
1797				
1798				
	Breeches			
	Gloves			
	Sheep leather gloves			
	Wafers (box)			
	Vitriol, Umbra, Litharge			
	Hoe			
	Painters brush			
	1 Girth			
	Latch at the Watertrough			
	Salt			
	Spanish brown, Prussian blue			

	Base fiddlestring			
	Iron Sheeting Catgut, tape, tacks Russian sheeting Brass knobs Steel Yellow ochre in oil Gunpowder Handbroom for the Schoolhouse Lampblack Thumblatch Blisterd steel, English steel for Mill Cloth & trimmings for a Sadlecloth Surcingles Carriage to Philadelphia Crowleys steel			
1799				
	Iron Steel Hinges and nails for Schoolhouse Salt (peck) Check 14 months rent Carpenters square Carriage of barrels to Philadelphia Tow Wrapper (yds) for the Cong ⁿ house Hoopiron Alum for Mill Iron rind lock, pair hinges Paness windowglass, lock Crankd Bolt Paid Saml Stots			
1800				

NOTE: The information from this chart is compiled from a number of sources: *Records of the Moravians in NC*, Trade Letters, Store Accounts, and Community Ledgers. No inventory listing merchandise on a given day has been found for the Salem Store during the years from 1775-1800. The 2 inventories for the Pennsylvania stores thus may provide valuable information as a point of reference.

H=made in Store by Br. Holder

P=Premiums offered, unsure if items actually exported

M=items for export from Br. Miksch

T=supplies for Troops

A=orders for Assembly members

*=For comparison inventories are included for 2 Stores in Pennsylvania Moravian communities. Both inventories list merchandise and cost of each item. Since Moravian communities would likely have carried very similar items, these inventories may provide information as to the type of wares sold in Salem.

**=Although community dairies and memorabilia, information found in the *Records of the Moravians in NC*, have been translated from the original German, official Store and business accounts were usually written in English. Every attempt has been made to record the spelling as it appears in these documents.

Lola L. Culler, 2/09

SALEM STORE UTENSILS & EQUIPMENT

"Salem, April 30, 1777.

Record of utensils and equipment presently in the local store, some of which are priced and some of which are not, as has been customary, namely."

#	DESCRIPTION	L. Sh. P
FURNISHINGS		
1	Old writing desk	
1	Lantern	
SCALES & WEIGHTS		
1	Pair brass bowls, without balance	
1	Balance, without bowls	---. -6. --
3	Wooden yards	
1	Set brass weights from 1-4 oz., 2 oz. weight missing	1. --. --
1	Balance with copper bowls	1. --. --
1	Ditto ditto	--. 8. --
1	Pair brass bowls without balance	--. 6. --
1	Large balance, wooden bowls	4.--. --
	Iron weights, 1 at 7 oz, 1 at 14 oz., 2 at 28 oz., 2 at 50 oz., 1 at 56-233 oz.	2.18.--
	22 ½ ounces lead weights	--. 11. 3
1	Lead weight on the largest balance in the store	
1	Large gold weight	1. --. --
1	Small ditto	--. 5. --
MEASURES		
1	Half bushel, 1 peck, old	
1	Half bushel, used	--. 2. --
1	Peck ditto	--. 2. --
1	Half peck ditto	--. 1. --
1	Quart, 1 pint, tin measure	--. 8. --
1	Half gallon metal	--. 1. --
1	Pint, and 1 half pint metal	--. 1. --

CONTAINERS & BAGS		
4	Metal powder canisters	--. 6. --
10	Sacks at 2 shillings	1. --. --
6	Leather bags	1. --. --
2	Old saddlebags	
2	Large tea canisters	--. 5. --
1	Metal bowl for molasses	
1	Ditto for money	
1	Tin ditto	--. 3. --
TOOLS		
2	Stretchers for hides	--. 2. --
1	Whetstone	--. 2. --
1	Hammer	
1	Ditto flat in front	
1	Diagonal pliers, 1 small ditto old	
1	Small crowbar	
1	Iron mattock	
1	Rasp for sugar barrels, iron	
2	Mallet rings, 2 wedges, iron	--. 4. --
1	Ax	
1	Hatchet	
1	large prybar, unaccounted	
1	<i>Krupp</i> hatchet	
2	Spades	
1	Shovel	
1	Old grain hoe	
1	Hand saw	
1	Hand-broom	
1	Old drill	
1	Iron tool for marking casks	--. 1. --
UTENSILS		
1	Large funnel, metal	
2	Very small funnels	
1	New metal sugar tumbler	--. 2. --
1	Powder sampler	
LADDERS		
1	Stepladder	
1	Small ordinary ladder	

1	Large ditto	
MISCELLANEOUS		
1	Padlock	--. 1. --
1	Butter engraver	
1	Wooden tap for molasses	
CARTS		
1	Pushcart, wheel plated with iron	--. 2. --
1	Four-wheeled cart, ditto	--. 2. --
1	Stone litter	
TOTAL		16. --. --

(Translated by Jeannette Norfleet, December 2007. Moravian Archives-Winston-Salem, NC)

BETHLEHEM INVENTORY BY CATEGORY

BUTTONS

Mohair Buttons [Bags]
Basket Buttons [Bags]
Wire Shirt Buttons [gro.]
Mother pearl Buttons white Stones [doz.]
gold carved pearl Buttons white Stones [doz.]
plain pearl Buttons white Stones [doz.]
large grass Sleevebuttons [Cards]
black Jett Buttons [dz.]
horn Coat Buttons [dz.]
metal Jacket Buttons [gro.]
metal Engine turn'd Buttons [gro.]
black horn Jacket Buttons [gro.]
Gilt Buttons [gro.]
small plated Buttons [gro.]

THREAD

best Silk Twist [lbs.]
drab collourd Sewing Silk [lb.]
collourd Thread [lb.]

SEWING

Bobbins [doz.]
Sewing Needles [m]
White Chappel Needles [c]
squarepointed Needles [c]
brass hooks & Eyes [gro.]
Brown Thread [lb.]
white Scotch Thread N. 18 [lb.]
white Scotch Thread N. 22 [lb.]
white Scotch Thread N. 28 [lb.]
pinchbeck Steelbottom'd Thimbles
comon brass Thimbles [gro.]

CLOTHING ACCESSORIES

Silk kneegarters [pair]
Silver plated Childrens Buckles [pr.]
brass Childrens Buckles [pair]
Shoeheels [dz.]
blocktin Shoebucks [dz.]
blocktin Shoebucks [pair]

knee Shoebucks [pair]
brass Schoebuckles [dz.]
brass Childs Schoebuckles [dz.]
brass kneebuckels [dz.]
whitemetal Schoebuckles
knitt garters [pair]
knitt garters [pair]
knitt garters [pair]
Letter garters [pair]
Striped garters [pair]
Striped highland garters [pair]
Scarlet garters [pair]
Check hanckfs.
red Striped hanckfs.
red bordered hanckfs.
blue printed hanckfs.
India Cotton hanckfs.
India Cotton hanckfs.
red spotted hanckfs.
red spotted hanckfs

RIBBON

yellow Satin Ribbond [yd.]
crimson l^d fring'd Ribbond [yd.]

TAPE

plain Cap Tape No. 13 [doz.]
Diaper Cap Tape No. 16 [doz.]
blue Striped Apron Tape [doz.]
Striped 7/4 Laces [gro.]

LACE

Beggars Lace [ps.]
white Thread Lace

FABRIC

black & red Buckram [yrd.]
black Duroys [yrd.]
black Russels [yd.]
brown Camblett [yd.]
drab mix'd Lagathy [yd.]
brown Camblett [yd.]
ellwide Cotton Stripe [yd.]
blue Britches Patterns

light blue Moreen [yd.]
black Callo. [yd.]
light blue callo. [yd.]
drab Jean [yd.]
drab fustian [yd.]
green Durant [yd.]
darck blue Rettinet [yd.]
red Nankein [pr.]
yellow Nankein [pr.]
drab Durtnt [yrd.]
pink Durtnt [yrd.]
drab Shalloon [yrd.]
Buckram [yrd.]
brown Rettinet [yrd.]
black Striped Callicoe [yd.]
blue spotted Callicoe [yd.]
India spotted Callicoe [yd.]
dark purple grod Callicoe [yd.]
dark Callicoe [yd.]
light grod Callicoe [yd.]
light grod Callicoe [yd.]
Dark grod Callicoe [yd.]
light grod Callicoe [yd.]
dark Chintz [yd.]
light Chintz [yd.]
dark Chintz [yd.]
superfine dark Chintz [yd.]
black Cotton Velvet [yd.]
Bombaseen [yd.]
red Silk Stripe [yd.]
India Bast [yd.]
brown Cotton Velvet [yd.]
Corduroys [yd.]
red Cotton Stripe [yd.]
blue french Serge [yd.]
dark Stripes [yd.]
red Linen Stripes [yd.]
blue Ellwide Cotton Stripes [yd.]
Striped Bedtick [yd.]
Cotton Check [yd.]
Cotton Check [yd.]
Cotton Check [yd.]
5/4 Cotton Check To 5/8 Ell [yd.]
brown Holland [yd.]

white Linnen [yd.]
white Linnen [yd.]
white Linnen [yd.]
 $\frac{3}{4}$ Brittanias [pr.]
Brittanias [pr.]
Brittanias [pr.]
Laval Linen [yd.]
Linen [yd.]
Irish Linen [yd.]
fine holland [yd.]
brown Lagathy [yd.]

JEWELRY

Amber Beads [lbs.]
small black Beads [lbs.]
Blue & black larger Beads [doz.]
large true Garnets [lb.]

WRITING EQUIPMENT

red String Hambro Quills [c]
blue String Hambro Quills [c]
Superfine Royal paper [Quires]
comon Royal Paper No. 1 [Quires]
comon Royal Paper No. 2 [Quires]
thick post Royal Paper No. 121 [Quires]
thin post Royal Paper [Quires]
quite thin post Royal Paper [Quires]
Callicoe Paper [Quires]
Red Stone Pencills
black Sealing Wax [Sticks]
large Slates
small Slates

HOME

brass Curtain Rings [gro.]
Snuffers [pr.]
Iron Candle Sticks
large Paper box
small Paper boxes
small Paper boxes with Wafers
Tin Lamps
Mouse Traps
Pint & Pocket Bottles [dz.]
black Quart Bottles [dz.]

Corcks [gro.]
half pint Decanters
half pint Tumblers
Bohemia Glass Tumblers
Glass Wash Cups & Plates
Tortois Shell Sugar Dishes
black Dishes
Pepper Castors
white Stone Mustard Potts
brown Salts
large Stone Juggs
blue & white Stone Water Juggs
Pewter Wine Crane
Pewter half Gallon & Gallon Measures
black Tin kettle

UTENSILS

large clasp knives [dz.]
large clasp knives [dz.]
large clasp knives [dz.]
large clasp knives [dz.]
Childrens knives [dz.]
Childrens spotted handles knives [dz.]
Penknives [dz.]
Pistol but knives [dz.]
knives & forks [Sett]
knives & forks [Sett]
knives & forks bone handle [pair]
Pewter Spoon

FOOD STUFFS

Saffron [oz.]
table refin'd Loaf Sugar [loaves 40 lb.]
single refined Sugar [lbs.]

TOBACCO ACCESSORIES

Japand Snuff Boxes [doz.]
Patterns Snuff Boxes
Paper Snuff boxes
Pipeheads
Pipehead Stems
Schotch Snuff [Bottles]
tble Spring'd Tobacco Boxes

WORK TOOLS

best Kirby Fish hooks N. 1. 2. 3. [m]

Taper'd Fish hooks

German Awlblades Sorted [m]

Awlhafts [dz.]

Pegging Awls

Shoemakers Punches [dz.]

Shoemakers Cramping hamer

crooked Heel knives

bright Shoeknippers [pair]

black Shoeknippers [pair]

Bayerish Whetstones

long Mayland Whetstones

Rags

Grass Sickles

Sheep Shears

Tobacco Stoppers

Irons Handsaw

black back'd Tenant Saws

bright back'd Tenant Saw

Compass Saws

round handle Tenant Saw

Saw Setts

Gimblets [doz.]

bright Shell Gimblets

bright larger Gimblets

½ Inch Gimblets [doz.]

Callipers

Plainirons

Rabbits sorted

5/8 In. Firmers [doz.]

1 In. Gouges [doz.]

2 In. Socket Chissels [doz.]

1 In. Socket Chissels [doz.]

bright Joiners Pinchers N. 4

Wire Weavers Pinchers

Marking Irons

10 In. Files

7 In. flat Files

6 In. flat Files

4 In. Files

Sheep Shears N. 1

Sheep Shears N. 2

Sheep Shears N. 4

1/8 In. Chissels [lb.]
 5 In. flat Files [dz.]
 4 In. flat Files [dz.]
 4 In. hard flat Files [dz.]
 3 In. flat Files [dz.]
 small polish'd handvices
 comon Scissors [dz.]
 smaller Scissors [dz.]
 smaller Scissors [dz.]
 Schoemakers knives [dz.]
 large Carpenters Compasses [pair]
 comon Raisors
 9 In. Clockmakers files [dz.]
 7 In. flat Files [dz.]
 6 In. flat Files [dz.]
 8 In. Files [dz.]
 6 In. Files [dz.]
 7 In. flat ro'd. edges files [dz.]
 hand saw Files
 5 In. flat Files
 small Tenant Saw files [dz.]
 12 In. Smiths files
 11 In. Smiths files
 12 In. flat Rasp
 10 In. flat Rasp
 9 In. flat Rasp
 10 In. hard Rasp
 8 In. hard Rasp
 11 In. hard Rasp
 Butchers knives
 Shoemakers hamer
 brass lined tailors Thimbles [dz]
 Iron Wire [lbs.]
 horn Bitten Moulds [gro.]
 bone Bitten Moulds [gro.]

HARDWARE

2 ½ In. Wood Screws [doz.]
 2 In. Woodscrews [doz.]
 1 ¼ In. Woodscrews [doz.]
 ¾ In. ro^d. head Wood Screws [doz.]
 5/8 In. Wood Screws
 7 Inch round polish'd Bolts [dz.]
 4 Inch round polish'd Bolts [dz.]

3 Inch round polish'd Bolts [dz.]
Table hinges [pair]
9 Inch H. hinges [pair]
7 Inch Chest hinges [dz.]
9 Inch Chest hinges [dz.]
6 Inch brass Nob Latches N. 3 [dz.]
best black varnish'd Thumblatches [dz.]
brass Saddlebag Locks [dz.]
L ward bright Chest Locks [dz.]
12 In. Benbury Stock Lock
5 In. Spring bolts
Wood Screws 1 Inch [gro.]
brass Nobs [dz.]
best large brass Nob Locks
Iron Latches
brass Drawer Locks
comon Lock
Clock Case hinges [pair]
Clock Case hinges [pair]
Desk Case hinges [pair]
brass Escutcheons

RAW MATERIALS

red Chalk [lb.]
Logwood [lb.]

BOOKS

English Spelling books
German Spelling books
English Primers [dz.]

MISC

Temple Spectacles [dz.]

???

Carmin [oz.] , [listed after garnets and beads]
buckling Combs ½ & 1/2 [doz.]
Centre Butts sorted [dz.], [listed after small plated Buttons]
Locket Chirrels sorted [listed after Scissors]
2 In. Chirrels

ADDITIONAL RESIDENTS and STORE STAFF

Others Living in the Home

Sr. Anna Pech Bischoff

- With husband, Rev. David arrived in Bethabara on September 12, 1756.
- They moved to Bethania, North Carolina in November 1759, and apparently moved sometime after to New York.
- They must have returned to Wachovia before 1763, when her husband died. A few days later, Sr. Bischoff went from Bethania to Bethabara, where,

On the 18th she received the Widow's ribbon*." [Fries-"*The Moravians had no special uniform; merely wore the costume customary at that time. The only distinctive feature of their dress was in the cap ribbons worn by the women. A young girl wore a net cap, tied under the chin with pink ribbon. The Older Girls, after they became communicants, wore white linen caps tied with red ribbons; the Single Sisters used pink ribbon with the white linen caps, the Married Sisters light blue, and the Widows white. A change of ribbons, therefore, was significant of the change that had come into a woman's life. (v. 1. 275)]

- Widowed, came with the Bagge's from Bethabara to live in the Two-story house with the family, on January 13, 1772
- Apparently sometime, she moved away from Salem. From a letter written from Pennsylvania, in October, 1778, Sr. Anna died in Bethlehem:

"...the dear old mother Bishoff had her heart's desire, and gently went home [[died]] on the very day on which her foster daughter, Betsey Bagge, wrote to her weeping." (v. 3; 1419-21).

- There was a close relationship between Sr. Bischoff and Anna Elisabeth Bagge, referred to as her “foster daughter.”

Widowed Sr. Anna Maria Brendel Bonn

- Wife of Dr. Jacob Bonn, who was doctor and surgeon in Bethabara in 1766, and later Salem’s doctor until his death in 1781. He was also a Justice of the Peace; and Br. Bonn and Bagge often worked together on business affairs. When he died, it may be that Sr. Bonn was allowed to continue to live in the Bonn house for awhile
- July 14, 1784, that:

 (Auf. Col.) Br. Lewis has taken over the two lots and buildings of Bonn for L250: and the apothecary shop for L37. Br. Bagge has offered to take Sr. Bonn into his house, and board her, which offer is accepted with thanks. (v. 5, 2035)
- Trained as a nurse and a midwife, and often traveled to communities nearby to assist in births, and to aid when needed.
- No mention has been found to determine how long she may have lived in the Bagge household.

Sarah Montforth (also spelled Montford, Mumford)

- From near Hillsboro, arrived in Salem on the 19th of September, 1787, wishing to become a resident of Salem

- The Bagges opened their home to her, where she resided over the next few months while the matter was discussed
- In May 1788 she left for that Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to join community there

Daughter of Melchoir Schneider (or Schmid?)

- In October, 1775, after moving into the new store, the Bagge family accepted a girl of school age to live in their house while she attended Sr. Oesterlein's school.
- One entry listed the daughter of Melchoir Schmid from Friedland, another entry lists the daughter of Melchoir Schneider. It has not been determined whose daughter was living in the Bagge home.

A Negro Woman

- In August of 1773, when the Bagges are living in the two-story house,

Br. Bagge reported that it would necessary for him to hire or buy a Negro woman, because he cannot get through with all his work without a maid who is constantly around. The single Sisters are not willing to give a maid for at least ¼ a year, and to pay them weekly constantly 7sh would be too high for him. The Colleguim did not oppose him, and his matter shall be transferred to the Conference of the Elders. If from there no opposition comes, he may as well buy his Negro Woman (AC).

- Discussion continued for the next few months. The Elder's Conference advised Br. Bagge that:

a. That no connection may exist between the negro woman he buys and the negro man belonging to Br. Herbst, in any manner;

b. therefore, it would not be wise for Br. Bagge to buy an adult negro woman, only a girl; otherwise Br. Herbst would have to dispose of his negro man, against whom there are many complaints already;

c. when Br. Bagge buys the negro girl, Geo. Bibighausen may no longer be used for house duties, but for the store only" (EC).

- In December, 1773, the records report that Bagge did indeed purchase "a negro girl, whom Br. Bagge bought in Charlestown for service in his family" (v. 2, p. 762).
- The only other account of this person is made in July two years later, "Br. Bagge has his negress punished also; he has hitherto done it himself, but seemed to be tired" (v.2, p. 877). No mention is ever made of her name, or in this last entry why she was being punished. This seems to be the last mention of her, so it is not known for how long she remained with the Bagge family.
- At least for two years she was living with the Bagges. It is most likely that she was living in the house with them, as domestic help did often.

Other Domestic Help

- In December of 1775:

Br. Bagge's matter about hiring 2 maids was brought up. He wants to hire Jacobina and Christina Schumacher, and there are no objections to this; since, however, he can not secure the former from Stockburger's until after Christmas, Eliz. Werner will be given to Bagge's house in the interim, to sleep there at night also. About the Widow Steinman whom he has mentioned in this connection also, it is too soon to come to a decision... (EC).

- Jacobina Schumacher may have been working and living at the Bagge home for about three years. She is mentioned as leaving the Bagge's on December 9, 1778, to live and work in Bethabara.
- Nothing more is known about the other women mentioned here.

Store

Store Personnel

Br. Christian Renatus Heckewalder

- In 1766, going to learn the trade of mason from Br. Rasp in Bethabara.
- In 1770 he is listed as a Single Brother to begin work in the Bethabara Store.
- Moved with the Bagge family, several persons, and four wagon loads of goods to Salem in January 1772. It is noted that he will live with them as well.
- In November, as part of his job as a storekeeper that he, "is to be in the store at the required time, nights also, and on festival days when necessary. If he should be remiss in this, Br. Bagge may complain" (EC).
- In 1773, Heckewalder went with Bagge to Charlestown, and soon he was making trips to various locations for the store, and was also responsible for keeping the store running in Bagge's absence.
- Br. Heckewalder began teaching a class twice a week in the Brothers House to instruct the older boys in English, writing, and arithmetic.

- For store business, he was also given the responsibility of securing the necessary wagons to take to market to deliver goods for sale, and to return with goods for sale in the store.
- Apparently Heckewalder was valuable to Bagge as an assistant and storekeeper because the records are full of trip after trip made by him and others to procure merchandise, and to exchange currency.
- But it was not a rosy situation all the time, and some differences arose between the two:

...Br. Heckewalder was called to meet with the Brn. Graff, Praezel, and Heinzmann, and Br. Bagge's statement as to his continuing in the store was read to him; it was earnestly recommended to both parties that they should return to a hearty love and trust of each other, which at present is missing on both sides. 23 Mar, 1779. [From various other notes in the Diaries, Minutes and Letters it appears that young Heckewalder's head had been turned by the trust reposed in him for the trip to Bethlehem, Pa., and his success in Halifax with the Assembly, and he wanted to run the store his way instead of heeding the instructions of his superior in office. There was really not enough work in the store at this time to keep him busy, and the problem was solved partly by bringing him and Bagge to a friendly agreement and partly by employing him at the tavern and then as teacher of the school for boys.] (v. 3, 1296)

- Difficulties between Br. Bagge and Heckewalder must have been resolved because within a couple of months, the *Records* again indicate that Heckewalder is back on the road taking currency for purchases to Cross Creek.
- In 1780, Br. Heckewalder began teaching school for the smaller boys in January.
- By August, once again he and Bagge were not getting along; and

- In October, 1780, it was decided that he would go to Bethlehem to work in the store there. It is of interest to note in 1785, that there may still be some animosity between the two, even long distance:

Br. Heckewalder [[in PA]] shall be told most earnestly that when he has goods which by an error in merchandising he has bought and cannot sell, he shall not unload them on Brethren who have not ordered them. It will be well if the ribbons which he sent, and which do not sell here, are returned to him. (v. 5, 2101)

Br. George Bibighaus (also spelled Biwighaus, Biewighausen)

- In January, 1772, moved to Salem with the Bagge's and was to live in the Bagge home as well as work in the store. At this time he was an older boy, serving his apprenticeship, apparently working doing "house duties" as well learning the business of the store. Br. Bagge remarks about his work and behavior,

"Br. Bagge said that he had never misused his boy and had given him enough opportunity to learn the right things. He could, however, do nothing against his laziness and would have to use him therefore for woodcutting anyway" (Auf. Col.).

- In January 1775, mention is made that Bibighaus will be finish his apprenticeship and "Br. Bagge is to be asked to show all diligence to make an able, worthwhile merchant out of him" (EC).
- Came of age on the twenty-ninth of September, 1775, thus in October,

The young Single Brother, George Bibighaus, having finished his apprenticeship with Br. Traugott Bagge, in the store, was given his freedom, in the presence of several Brethren of the Aufseher Collegium and Br. Bonn, Justice of the Peace. We hope that he will be a useful man in this business (v. 2, p. 887).

- The next month, Br. Bibighaus left for Cross Creek to “attend to the sale and purchase of goods for the store” (v. 2, p. 889). But only twenty days after he left Salem,

“At sunset Br. George Bibighaus returned from Cross Creek and New Bern; he managed his first expedition for the store very well. He confirmed the report that tenders from men-of-war lie before New Bern and Wilmington” (v.2, p. 891).

- Br. Bagge had trained Br. Bibighaus well, as he is mentioned frequently in the *Records* for the next few years traveling to Cross Creek, Petersburg, Wilmington, Salisbury, Hillsborough, and Pennsylvania.
- Married, and in March on 1783, Br. and Sr. Bibighaus moved to Bethabara, where Br. Bibighaus reopened the store there. Br. Bagge was responsible for the overall management of both stores, with Bibighaus in charge of the Bethabara store branch.
- Along with Brn. Bagge, Herbst and Aust, he had been accused of depreciating the value of paper money. Brought to trial in Richmond on February 18, 1785, in which Bagge and Bibighaus were found guilty; Bagge fined L50, and Bibighaus only one penny.
- Later in 1785 and 1786, the *Records* mention Bibighaus leaving for Charleston and other locations on business for both the Bethabara and Salem stores.
- February 1787, the discussion is about the living situation of Bibighaus, has him returning to Salem,

(Auf. Col.) Br. Biwighaus can find no lodging in town except in the two-story house, which is too far from his work in the store*. Br. Bagge has said that he is willing to build a stone house on his lot**, and rent it to the congregation Diaconie for 4%; he asks, however, that Br. Praezel will superintend the building, which he is willing to do. [Footnotes-* “It was two blocks away!” ** “Diagonally across the street from the store, that is on the southeast corner of Main and West streets” (v. 5, p. 2179)].

- On a business trip to Pennsylvania in April 1787, Br. Bibighaus was given the charge of carrying the twin Bagge sons with him, for them to enter the school at Nazareth Hall there.
- The concern that Bibighaus be so close to the store, must indicate that his responsibility must include that he be available to open the store as needed, and perhaps serve also as a type of security to keep an eye on the store. In June 1787 building has begun on the Bagge house which was to be the residence of Br. and Sr. Bibighaus. (This home was built by and owned by Br. Bagge, and was apparently always called “the Bagge House” even though Br. Bagge never even intended on living there. It was built for the Bibighauses, to make it more convenient for Br. Bibighaus to be near the Store. This brings an interesting question about living arrangements. Obviously there were several people at a time living in the Store residence with the Bagge family. This brings to light that these people residing in the store must have been single, and that once Br. Bibighaus was married, it was important that he have a separate home, however, he is not responsible for paying for it. It seems that his housing was provided as a part of his pay, as was the case with Traugott Bagge. In April 1788, Br. and Sr. Bibighaus were in their new home, and they were asked if

(Auf. Col.)... We wish to find a lodging for Br. and Sr. Schnepf, not too far from the Saal, and without too many steps, certainly no outside wooden steps, and he asks that the lodging not be too expensive. He will do without a garden. Most convenient for them may be the small room upstairs in Br. Bagges' new house, where Br. Biewighausen lives, and if Br. Schnepf like this suggestion he can speak with Br. Bagge about it (v. 5, p. 2233).

- For a few months in 1789, Br. and Sr. Bibighaus returned to Bethabara to temporarily run the store and tavern in the absence of management there,
- Returned to Salem in December, 1789.
- In 1790, three years after taking the Bagge sons to Pennsylvania for their further education, Bibighaus brought them home.
- In 1800, when Br. Bagge died, although Bibighaus was managing the store in Bagge's absence, Br. Bibighaus was not selected to take over the business; he did provide continuity by managing the store with Charles Bagge and Samuel Stotz, the Warden of the congregation, until the merchant who had been selected arrived. These three ran the store for about three months until Conrad Kreuser arrived from Nazareth, Pennsylvania to serve as the new merchant.
- Bibighaus continued to work in the store under the supervision of Kreuser. But in 1802, problems begin to develop because Bibighaus was drinking too much brandy and not reliable in his store work.
- It was decided in 1804, that he could open a grease and small wares shop, with the approval of the Aufseher Collegium. It was reported:

...that it is very hard on Br. B[iwighaus]. to leave his post in the store. He has told to this member that after he has spent the best years of his life in the store he is now set out without any payment. Other Brethren, who have served in the store, have gathered a small fortune, as he said, whereas he has barely been able to make his living. He asks for a small support. It was said, however,...that he cannot make any such demands because we cannot give him extra payment for his sins. The Salem store is going to pay for his house rent. Perhaps this would be a way to make him come to think about his former way of life, of which he seems to be afraid. If he really should find out that he is unable to make his living he may trust in the Community Direction that he is not going to be left without help (Auf. Col.-EH) March 20, 1804. (Personnel Card-George Biewighausen)

- By September, 1804, he did open his shop.
- September 1806, Br. Bibighaus died at the age of 52 after serving in the Salem store for more than thirty years.

Br. Gottlieb Schober

- In 1776, Schober was taken as an apprentice in the leather goods shop, under the master Br. Fritz.
- This apprenticeship in a short period of time “has now expired and Br. Fritz says that all has been carried out as agreed. In future Br. Schober will receive 8 sh. For each pair of leather breeches made, and for other work he will receive 4 sh. A day; Br. Schober is satisfied with this” (v. 3, p. 1260).
- In addition to making leather goods, Schober taught in the school for the older boys in the Brothers House, in the absence of their regular teacher, Br. Fritz, and in 1779, for a while also supervised the younger boys while continuing to make leather breeches.

- During 1781 and 1782, Schober continued to make leather breeches and was also dyeing leather black for that purpose; it was at this time, while still working in the leather business, that we start to see the beginning of Schober's trading spirit, which was to become a problem:

It will be necessary to remind Br. Schober that he stops all his negotiating and that he should rather make his living from his profession and from the school, with which he would at the same time serve the community. He should not buy rough deer skins, but should leave that to the white tannery and the store. He also should not swap different kinds of articles for payment, but he should send people who want to sell or swap to the right place. 6 Feb, 1781 (AC-EH).

- Perhaps this "negotiating" may be when it is recognized that Schober has skills that could become an asset to the store business, for on the fourteenth of August, 1782, the *Records* state:

Br. Gottlieb Schober has expressed his desire to settle down in a household of his own, but thought he would continue with the school. We saw, however, that after he once started to build he would not be able to continue with the school. The idea was broached that since Br. Bagge has advocated the establishing of a commission store in Bethabara and since Br. Bagge has many public duties, and since it has been thought to train a Brother in the Salem store in the Merchant's business, Br. Schober would be a gifted subject if he is agreeable to Br. Bagge. We asked in the Lot, Are we to consider Gottl. Schober to come into the Salem store? We received 'Yes.' It was noted that whatever work Schober could do in his bag-making trade he would have to do for the good of the store, but his salary would be enhanced thereby. First of all we must speak with Bagge (EC-S).

- Bagge approved the idea, and on August 21, 1782, it was agreed that "When Br. Schober goes into the store he will receive from Br. Bagge L60 a year and free living quarters as his salary as salesman" (v. 4, p. 1806). The plan was for Br. Schober to become the Store assistant, replacing Br. Bibighaus, so that he could

go to Bethabara and run the store business there. As part of this arrangement with Schober, “The store will take over Br. Schober’s leather breeches business, and continue it for the benefit of the store, allowing him L15 extra per year for it” (v. 4, p. 1810). But in order to work in the store as a salesman, coming in contact with men and women, it was necessary for Schober to be married.

- On December 17, 1782 the single brother Schober, married Sr. Maria Magdalena Transu. (After the Lot approved his marriage to Sr. Eliz. Dixon, which Schober rejected, asking instead to marry Sr. Transu, which was also approved by Lot.)
- The next year in February, 1783, Br. Schober made his first business trip with Br. Bagge to Charlestown to see what business prospects there are after the British had left the city.
- Br. Schober continued to work in the store for the next couple of years but decided he would like to leave the store to learn tinsmithing, and ply that trade as well as his leather breeches business.
- Less than a week later, the community dairy notes that once again there develops a stressful relationship between Br. Bagge and his staff. “Since Br. Bagge and Br. Schober do not get along too well with each other the latter has asked to be taken out of the store, which was permitted to him” (Auf. Col.-EH). 13 Dec, 1785.
- At the end of December, Schober terminated his relationship with the store
- February, 1786, he was mentioned as starting to “sew breeches, purses and gloves. He also started a small scale tinsmith shop.”

- Later that same year that Schober began to deal in the mercantile business. It seems that Br. Schober did indeed possess natural talents in that area, and undoubtedly he learned quite a lot from the few years working under Br. Bagge; now he started to use that talent and knowledge to become a thorn in the side of Bagge and the Aufseher Collegium, as he continued to break the community rules by running a small mercantile business.
- In April, the community guidelines were brought to light: “(Auf. Col.)...It is not the intention to force Brethren and Sisters to buy everything at the store. They may buy where they please, but the Aufseher Collegium must insist that no other store is established in town” (v. 5, p. 2137).
- By July, Schober had increased his tinware supply and made enough that he requested that the store no longer sell tin. The Aufseher Collegium stood by the store, and allowed them to sell what they had in stock, at which time they should order no more. Although though Schober felt free to require that no one compete with him in his business, it does not seem to occur to him that he was competing with the store when he began to sell merchandise.
- In November the Aufseher Collegium was advised of the situation with Schober, and he was reminded of the community orders:

(Auf. Col.) Br. Schober has stated that he would be willing to sell his present house and build on the street, as that would help the sale of his tinware. It was brought out that he was trying to establish a small shop in addition to his trade; that he had already brought in snuff boxes, silver shirt-buttons, and knives for sale; that he had ordered chocolate for sale; that he had offered to order all kinds of things for the Brethren and Sisters; that he had approached people on the streets who had brought tallow and wax to town, and had offered a higher price than was being paid by others, whereby the price of

those articles was raised; and that he planned to export those things. The Collegium thinks he should be spoken with, and definitely reminded that from the first he had been told that he could not carry on a mercantile business (v. 5, p. 2145).

- Over the next few months there was much discussion about money Schober owed the store, and his rude behavior.
- That situation was finally resolved in January 1787. But the clandestine trading and selling of Schober continued.
- There are several entries between July 1788, and July 1789 dealing with Br. Schober's behavior.
- Apparently his desire to build a paper-mill and start that business along with the ultimatum laid down by the Aufseher Collegium on July 14, 1789, became the impetus for him to consider ceasing his trading:

The following memorandum, which was written by Br. Marshall and which shall be sent to Br. Schober, was read to the Collegium and approved. Upon this he shall give a written declaration of his point of view:

‘With a long time of patience we have tried to wait and see what Br. Schober would do in his merchandising after several reminders of the Brethren of the Collegium. Now the daily experience shows his trade instead of stopping or moving in the set limits of those reminders of the Collegium, is expanding more and more. Br. Schober even takes wares into commission for people who live here and others also, to which others refer when they do the same thing. The Aufseher Collegium is forced therefore to demand from him his final declaration whether he is now going to stop immediately this buying and selling together with the commission trade, which he is going after beside his real trade.

Unless we get the right answer in this matter, nothing can be determined about the suggestion of building a papermill, because it would only start new unauthorized trading. If Br. Schober does not want to listen to our demand he is violating the rules of the community, has no more the character of a Brother, and will have to suffer that we do not consider him as such any longer. Yes, it would be his own fault if we would have to make use of the last method in the lease, to part from him.’

At that it was mentioned that it is not necessary to enter long discussions with him about the matter and prove it all through single facts, since it is publicly known that he is trading and since, moreover, many in Bethabara and Bethania are referring to him. He also cannot expect that we buy the wares from him which he still has in stock, because he has bought them consciously acting against the rules of the community. He will have to sell them all together, though he will not earn so much with that...(AC-EH).

- On July 21, Br. Schober accepted the demands.
- November of the same year, Schober had received a state loan for L300 paper money for three years to begin the construction of the paper-mill. This became a successful enterprise for Schober and Salem, and provided the area with a much needed resource--paper which was locally produced. With that it was hoped that Schober had finally stopped his trading.
- However, Schober's "*Journal wherein All Transactions Concerning My Paper Mill are Justly Recorded and Serves Also as a Journal for My Other Business for the 1790*" (Fig. V-28) lists an inventory for his "other business," which specifies the wares that he is still selling against community rules.
- And in December 1791, Schober

...is still keeping all kinds of merchandise like pins, buttons, etc., which he has used for the purchase of rags. He is offering that he would not keep any of these things longer if Br. Bagge would offer him, on the other hand, to take his ware of tin and his paper into the Bethabara Store. Br. Bagge is willing to do so if Br. Schober supplies him with good wares (AC-EH).
- It is not known exactly when (and if) Schober ever stopped his mercantile business. But the records seem to indicate that with his paper-mill he developed a level of personal and financial success that provided satisfaction for a while.

- He later became Salem's first postmaster, and a Lutheran minister.
- Schober frequently challenged the long-established system. Although his trading was a problem for the community, the diary entries provide valuable information about business that may not otherwise have been brought to light; about guidelines enacted by the ruling boards, and about how they dealt with infractions. Schober's inventory of merchandise also provides valuable information to better understand the business of the Salem store.

Br. Gottlieb Fockel

- Arrived in Bethabara on November 4, 1755.
- In 1757, he was first elected as a Church Warden
- Elected as a member of the Committee of Arbitrators in 1762.
- He and his wife Mary Leibert were among the couples in the "first wedding in Wachovia and the Married Choir was increased" on July 8, 1762. Both Br. and Sr. Fockel served as Diener and Dienerinnen.
- In 1766, his occupation listed is that of a tailor.
- In 1773, is noted that he "shall receive L60: salary from the Store" (PEC. v. 2, p. 776).
- The following April 1774 account is in reference to the Bethabara store, which it is under the management of Traugott Bagge who often had difficulty dealing with people under his supervision:

We have a letter from Br. Fockel in Bethabara. He asks in view of the unhealthy dwelling in which he lives, that an addition be built or that he have a change of location for living. Then he makes proposals about the Bethabara store, from which it can be seen that he does not like to stand under Br. Bagge. No change can be made with regard to the Bethabara store for that can be carried on in no other way than that it stands under the Salem store and that the stores are one business from which the Bethabara Diacony receives one-third of the clear profit (EC).

- Several months later, in December, there is still a problem; it is not known if the two settled their unharmonious relationship.
- There appears to be no other account of Br. Fockel until his death in 1778. Br. Fockel was part of the Wachovia mercantile system, and was involved directly and indirectly with the Salem store, in that wagonloads of goods to and from market were often procured from Bethabara with country goods from that area, and were also filled with manufactured wares to be sold in Bethabara when the store there was open. Br. Fockel would not have lived in the Salem store, but it is assumed that he would often have been present there to receive business instructions, and may have on occasion been lodged there en route to markets.

Br. John Chitty

- Listed in 1786 as being a clerk in the store.
- On December 2 1789, the *Records* describe another situation in which Bagge had trouble working with someone under his supervision:

John Chitty represents that he can no longer work in harmony with Br. Bagge in the store, says he can do nothing anymore to suit Bagge. He wishes to be dismissed from the store duties and will go back to glove-making or help in the tailoring. Bagge, on the other hand, says he can not get along without Chitty because he [Bagge] is getting older and his strength is not as formerly.

It was thought best that Br. Chitty and Br. Bagge should get together in the matter... (EC-S).

- By the end of the month: “Conversation with Chitty proved futile and he has left the store. It was thought best not to speak with Br. Bagge about it unless he brings it up” (EC-S).

Other Store Personnel:

Br. Matthew Miksch-Bethabara Storekeeper, 1768

Br. Ludwig Meinung-Kept books for Administration at his office in the Store (Salem Two-Story House), 1772, 1793

Single Brothers-Cared for Br. Bagge’s horse for 10d per day and use of the store meadow, 1775

Chas. Holder- Saddler, under Bagge’s guardianship; supplying carpenter work in the yard of the new store, 1775

Johann Christian Loesch-Clerk in the store, 1786

John Chiddy-Clerk in the store, 1786

George Hauser, Johann Conrad-Bethabara store, 1786

Br. and Sr. Christian Loesch- Took charge of store and tavern in Bethabara, 1787

Brn. Bagge, Abraham Steiner, Meinung-Took inventory of Bethabara store, 1789

Br. Abraham Steiner-Charge of store and tavern in Bethabara, 1789, 1794

Jacob Blum-Help in the store, 1799

Br. Toego Nissen-Nightwatchman (Store paid part of his salary.), 1781

Men providing and/or traveling with wagons on Store business:

Br. Rose-Teamster for Single Brethren, 1772

Brn. Michael and George Hauser, Michael Ranke-wagons (Bethabara), 1772

*Br. Michael Ranke-(Bethabara) in charge of wagons; with him only boys and an outsider,
Hermanus Muller, 1773*

Single Brothers- Teamsters, 1774

Matthew Lock-wagon, 1775, 1776

Br. Heckewalder, accompanied by Heinrich Hauser, 1775

Br. Richter and Samuel (Bethabara), 1775

Br. Ranke, Henrich Spoenhauer, Michael Hauser (Bethania)-wagons, 1775

Br. Spach, 1776, 1791

Wendel Krause- wagon, 1776

Johann Muller- wagon, 1776, 1778

George Hauser, Jr., 1776, 1790

Br. Wutrobe, Heckewalder, 1776

Young Christopher Elrod-accompanied Bagge, 1776, 1777

Mr. Hinkel-wagon, 1779

Friedrich Muller-wagon, 1779

Br. Charles Holder, 1779

Michael Seitz, the unmarried Lagenaur-wagon and horse (Friedland), 1779

Young Stolz, 1779

Johann Rank, 1779

Peter Schneider-wagon, 1779

Schleyder, Heinrich Schneider-Teamsters, 1779

Mr. Schleider, George Hartmann's son, 1779

Br. Blum, Heckewalder, 1779

Transou, Henrich Hauser-wagons, 1779

George Hartmann, 1779

Johann Rank, 1779

Michael Seiz-wagon, 1780

George Hauser, 1780

John Hartmann, 1780

Br. Samuel Stotz, Martin Schneider, 1780

Single Brothers House-wagon, 1780

Balzer Christman-teamster, 1780, 1784, 1786

Heinrich Hauser, Jacob Schlor, George Hauser, Jr., 1781

Br. Christian Conrad-wagon, 1782

Br. Feisser-wagon, 1783

Br. Christian Loesch-Porter, 1783

Br. Freidrich Muller, -wagon, 1784

The two Conrads-wagons, 1785

William Hall (Peter Schneider's servant)-Teamster, 1786

Jeremiah Elrod-(Friedland), 1788

Brn. Biwighausen, John Chitty, 1789

Johann Conrad, 1789

Br. Michael Hauser, Gottlieb Cramer-wagons, 1790

Br. Kapp, Johann Samuel, 1790 (Bethabara)

Br. Biwighaus, Br. Christoph Reich, 1793

Br. Gottlieb Spach-wagon, 1793

Brn. Biwighaus, Stohr, 1793

Brn. Bagge, Strehle, 1795

Slaves:

Franc and Sambo-bought under Bagge's name, 1772

Negro Jacob-Teamster, sold in Bagge's name, 1779

APPENDIX D--TRADE LETTERS

NOVEMBER 12, 1783

“[From the trade letters on file in the Salem Moravian Archives the following have been selected as showing the articles ordered and how the bills were paid; also the names of merchants in Charleston with whom the Salem Moravians dealt.]”

12 Nov, 1783

Mr. Sam^l Stots.

Charleston, Nov. 12, 1783.

Bo^t of Geo. Cobham

2	ps	Cotton Check	87 ½	At	1/8	L	7	7	10
1	ps	D ^o	47 ½	at	¼		2	16	8
1	ps	Furniture D ^o	44	at	2/2		4	15	4
1	ps	Corduroy	24 ¾	at	2/8		3	6	--
2		Jugs 6/2 D ^o & Covers	2/					8	--
1		Tea Pott						1	8
½	doz	Door handles compleat						6	--
2	pair	Pincers						2	--
6	pair	T Hinges						6	--
6	pair	H D ^o						2	--
1	gro	Screws						2	--
2	stick	Locks 3/----6 spring Bolts 4/						7	--
1	pair	L Bands and Gudgeons						<u>3</u>	--
						L	20	1	6

12th Nov^r

1783

Bo^t of R. Ewing & Co.

1 doz Watch Chains.....	L--	8	--
2 Gross Buttons @ 4/.....		8	--
1 pair Spictacles.....		3	6
		19	6

Mr. Samuel Stotts

Charles Town

Novem^r 12 1783

Bought of Collins & Hayes

N^o 20 Broad Street, Corner of Church Street

23 Yds Bath Coating.....8/.....	L 9	4	0
22 Yds Buckram.....1/5.....	1	11	2
1 ps Shalloon.....	2	16	0
10 yds Mix'd broad Cloth—10/10/2.....	5	8	9
3 sticks Twist.....6d.....		1	6
1 Double Groce Buttons (for Bath Coating).....		10	10
1 ps Worsted Binding (for D ^o).....		3	--
3 doz Coat & 3 doz Breast buttons, 3/6 & 1/9.....		5	3
1 pair Blanketts.....	1	1	9
	L21	2	3
6 p ^r Mens rib ^d worsted Hose.....3/6.....	1	1	--
4 p ^r Ditto White ditto.....2/6.....		10	--
1 ream Paper.....		16	4
	L23	9	7

Received the Contents in full for Collins & Hayes

Tho^s W. Bacot

[Records..., v. 5, 2383-4]

NOVEMBER 15, 1783

Charlestown, Nov^r 15th 1783

Me. Sam Stots

Boug^t of Porter & Wadsworth

two Bar^l train Oil @ 20 dollr.....L9 6 8

2 lbs Chocolate..... 4 --

L9 10 8

Charleston, the 15th Novbr. 1783

M^r. Stots. Bought

of Schmidt & Molich

1 Bag Koffy, cont. 130 lb.....8 1/2d.....L4 12 1

[Records..., v. 5, 2384]

NOVEMBER 18, 1783

Mr. Samuel Stotts

Novem. 18. 1783

B^{ot} of Roach & Custis

1	Barrel	Sugar		257							
				16							
				241	N ^t	A	30/	L	3	12	3

[Records..., v. 5, 2384]

DECEMBER 23, 1783

M^r Stotz

1783

Decemb^r 23

Bo^t of Abra^m Markley

A double Gross Buttons.....	L—11	6
one Whip Saw.....	1	3 4
½ Box English Glass 9 x 11.....	1	12 3
		<hr/>
		L 3 7 6
By Cash sent by Spoenhauer.....	3	4 7
		<hr/>
due on Acc ^t to Ab ^m Markley.....	L—2	11

[On the same sheet and written in German]:

Dear Mr. Stotz, the above Whipsaw has been used but is as good as new; I could find no other which nearly met your description.

Abraham Merkley.

[Records..., v. 5, 2383-4]

NOVEMBER 30, 1784

Mr Samuel Stoz,
1784

Novemb^r 30th

D^r of Abra^m Markley

To 1 Cask Molasses 45 Gall @ 20d & Cask 7/.....	L4	2	--
To 1 Bll Sugar 211			
22 189 lb. Nett. @ 38/.....		3	11 9
To 1 Bll Sugar 308			
17 291 lb. Nett. @ 34/.....		4	18 10
To 1 Cask Rice 655			
60 595 Nett @ 15/.....		4	9 2
To Cash 2/4 & porterag 1/2.....		3	6
To 1 Bll Coffee 216			
23 193 Nett @ 10d.....		8	--- 10
To 1 Bll Wine 26 Gallons @ 3/3 & Cask 8/2		4	12 8
To 18 Sides Soal Leather 200lb @ 10d.....		8	16 8
		L38	5 5

By 3 Blls Tallow 698^{lb} Nett @ 7d.....L20 7 2

By 1 Hhd Tobacco 1064

107 957^{lb} @ 23/4..... 11 3 3

		L31	10 5
To Inspecting & Cooperage.....		8	12
		31	2 3
		7	3 2
To the balance of last year.....		2	11
		L 7	6 1
Philip Vogler had on Mr. Stotz Acc ^t		1	2 1
Balance due to Markley.....		L 8	8 2

[Records..., v. 5, 2385]

NOVEMBER 8, 1785

Charleston, Nov. 8th 1785

Mr. Stutt

Bo^t of Cochran & Will^m M^cClure

1 cask Coffee 176 Gro: 20 –156 N ^t @ 1/.....	L7	16	0
5 yds Cloth @ 7/.....	1	15	--
	<hr/>	L9	11 0

Recd payment in full
for C & W M^cClure

Rob^t Elliot

[Records..., v. 5, 2386]

NOVEMBER 11, 1785

Mr Samuel Stuts

1785

November the 11th

Bought of Mess^r Hinds & Folker

To 450 Poun ^s Soal Leather Gross			
and 400 Neat at 9d pr Pound.....	L15	0	0

N.B.
18 Hides

[Records..., v. 5, 2386]

MAY 12, 1786

Charleston y^e 12th May 1786

Dear Sir

We have Receiv^d your favour by Mr Shoemaker, and have Allow'd the highest price given for y^e articles you send, and have send by him the most of y^e Articles you Wrote for, the Tin could not be found. I have Inclosed you y^e bill of parcels, by which you'll see the Balance remaining due to us,

I am Sir with respect your Most ob^t

Abra^m Markley

Mr. Samuel Stotz

1786

B^t of Abra^m Markley & Co.

2 Bags Coffee 106			
73	184 ^{lb} @ 10d.....	L 7	13 4
46 Sides Soal Leather, 500 ^{lb} ...@ 10d.....		20	16 8
20 M of 6 ^d Nails 140 ^{lb}@ 9d.....		5	5 --
To Sundries by Stephens, Ramsey & co.....		1	19 8
21 Gallons of Spermacity Oil @ 3/6 & Cask 7/.....		4	--- 6
		L 39	15 2

By one Bll Tallow 223

21 202^{lb} @ 7d.....L 5 17 10

By one Hhd Tobacco 1192

107 1085^{lb} @ 17/6 9 9 10

	L15	7	8
To Inspecting y ^e Tobacco & Cooperage		7	6

	L15	--	2
By Cash 82 Doll ^{rs} @ 4/8.....	19	2	8
		L34	2 10

Balance due to A. Markley & Co.....	L 5	12	4
-------------------------------------	-----	----	---

[Records..., v. 5, 2386]

DECEMBER 11, 1787

Mr. Sam Stots

1787

Bo^t of Snowden Lathrop & Forrest

Dec^r 11th

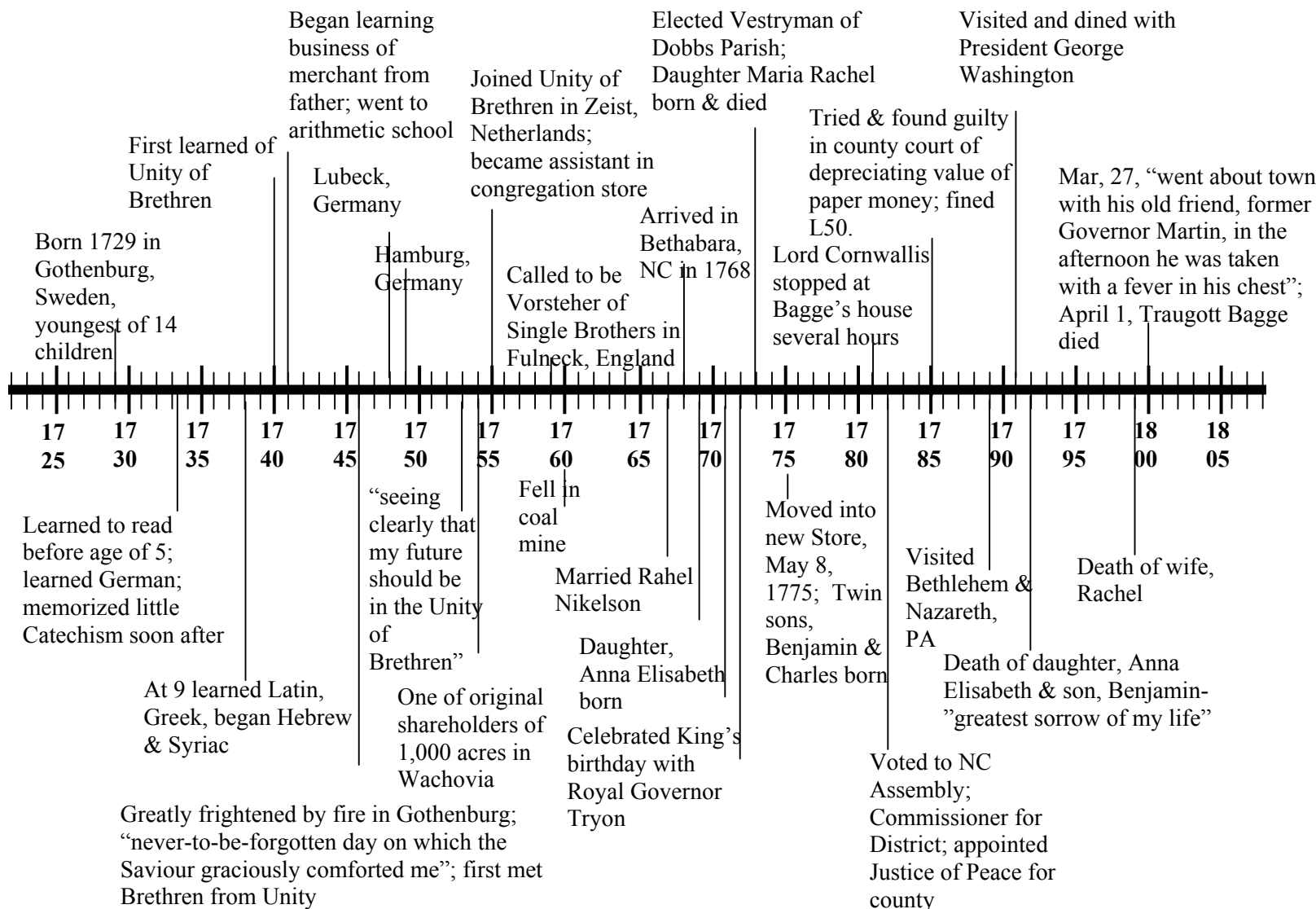
1 Cask con ^{tg} 5 doz & 4 Bottles @ 2/4 Doz...L--	12	5	
5 Bus ^l Rice @ 9/6.....	2	7	6
Barrel.....	2		L 3 1 11
1 Cask Herrings @ 5 Dol ^s			1 3 4
1 Bar ^l Sugar—280 n...@ 50/.....			6 19 10
9 ^{lb} Salt Petre @ 1/9.....			15 9
2 Doz Oranges @ 6d.....			1 --
			<hr/> L 12 1 10

C^r Viz

By 1 Hhd Tobacco.....	L9	14	0
Deduct Inspection expense.....		7	
		<hr/> 9 7 0	
20 Gall Whiskey valued at 2/.....	2	0	0
			11 7 0
Balance.....			<hr/> 14 10
Cash from M ^r Elrod.....			14 10
			<hr/>

[Records..., v. 5, 2387]

TIMELINE FOR T. BAGGE



TIMELINE-ARCHITECTURE, TOWN PLANNING
(Sample Pages)

---	----	-----	R	<p>STORE-LOT 63</p> <p>“The first community store was established in 1772, on lot 53, in what was then called “the two-storey house”. The “skin house” for storage of hides was located across the street on lot 35, and the store also controlled a “back lot” in the rear and across the “back street” which was part of lot 75. This arrangement was considered a temporary one and the second store, the documentary evidence of which is here tabulated, [[with additional evidence compiled by L. Culler for this Timeline]] was built on the lot set aside for the store in 1768, when the square was relocated approximately one block south of its original location.</p> <p>The store business was one of the “community branches” and its profits went to support the early communal system in Salem. The three merchants during this period operated the store under the name as agent for the Unity of Brethren. Documentary evidence concerning the trade, customs and economic history of the store are not included here except where such might tend to effect the appearance of the building.</p> <p>On lot hereinafter described adjoining the Single Brothers’ lot and marked “Store” on map of 1783—on northwest corner of the present Main and West Streets, lot 63 by 1821 and 1840 maps.” (OS-File for Lot 63)</p>
4	Nov	1752	Re	<p><i>“Forks of Little River, in the forest, Anson County, N. C., at the Brushy Mountains, about twenty miles from the Catawba, to the north-west, counting from the mouth of Little River...</i></p> <p>...There is stone which can be used for building, and also sand, but no limestone, which is very rare in North Carolina, indeed there is hardly any this side of the Alleghanies. That is the reason for the poorly built wooden houses one finds everywhere...” (Diary of August Gottlieb Spangenberg. V. 1; 45)</p>
8	Jan	1753	Re	<p><i>“From the camp in the three forks of Muddy Creek, also called Carguels Creek. [Official copy]...</i></p> <p>Towards the end of the year we came into this neighborhood, and found a “body of land” * which is probably the best left in North Carolina. If he had had a true account of this in the beginning, perhaps we would not have gone to the Catawba nor</p>

				<p>beyond the Blue Mountains to the New River, but doubtless the Lord ordained that in ignorance of this we should take up those other thousands of acres, which will in some way serve his purpose.</p> <p>The land on which we are now encamped seems to me to have been reserved by the Lord for the Brethren.</p> <p>It lies in Anson County, about ten miles from the Atkin, on the upper road to Pennsylvania, some twenty miles from the Virginia line. A road is being built from here to a Landing,** to which goods can be brought in boats from Cape Fear, and then hauled further into the country. It is said to be about 150 miles to this Landing, 350 miles to Edenton, and 19 miles to the nearest mill.</p> <p>...There is also stone here, suitable for building purposes, and Br. Antes thinks mill-stones can be also found...</p> <p>[*Wachovia. Winston-Salem is almost in the center of this tract. ** Later known as Springhill, three miles below the present site of Fayetteville, N. C.] (Diary of August Gottlieb Spangenberg. V. 1; 59)</p>
25	Jan	1753	Re	<p>“...I have been thinking that it would be a good thing if the Deeds which we take from My Lord Granville should contain a name for each tract. I will suggest what seems to me an appropriate name for each, and then leave it to you....</p> <p>The eleventh is the entire district of Carguels Creek, and is richest in water of any place I have seen, and well fitted for cattle raising. Why should we not call it <i>Wachau</i>,* and so renew that name?</p> <p>What we should call the fourteen pieces which compose the Wachau I do not yet know; perhaps we could use the names of the creeks in each piece...” [*The Zinzendorf Family originally came from a part of Austria known by this name [Croeger.]] (Diary of August Gottlieb Spangenberg. V. 1; 62-3)</p>
----	-----	1755 or 1756	M	ZINZENDORF’S PLAN FOR UNITAS. (OS- Guidebook. Original- Herrnhut Archives)
---	----	1760- 1770	M	“CHARTER VON DER WACHAU”, with List of Land Owners. (OS-map case 013535)
----	-----	1764	Re	<p>“1764. Wachau or Dobbs Parish ...2) <i>Concerning the land</i>.</p> <p>When the land has been settled it will be said that it is a fruitful land, but the Brethren have been the first to cultivate it,</p>

				<p>and beyond what they have used it all lies wild. Therefore all that can be said is that it is land on which everything grows that is planted. It has wood for building and for burning; good water; stone, and clay for brick in sufficient quantity...(v. 2, 558) ...9) <i>Stone</i> 1) <i>Building stone can be found everywhere....</i> 4) <i>Sand-stone</i>; found here and there....” (v. 2, 576) [Fries-“Christian Gottlieb Reuter, the surveyor of Wachovia...his observations as to the native trees, shrubs, plants, animals, birds, snakes, insects, etc., which he found in this section of North Carolina, and notes their uses...”(v.2, 557)]</p>
5	Feb	1765	Re	<p>“...The Brn. Marshall, Loesch, Reuter, Frommelt, and Lorenz have yesterday and today looked at sites for the new central town [[Salem]]...We asked with yes and no ‘Whether this place, east from the head of the Petersbach, was approved by the Saviour as the site for the town?’ ‘No’ was drawn. Then another place was discussed...It was asked “Whether the point where the Petersbach empties into the Wach shall be the site for the town?” Answer “no.” And so another place must be found.” (v. 1; 313)</p>
8	Feb	1765	Re	<p>“We came together today to consider the town site. We have looked around and found a good place between the heads of the Petersbach and the Lech, at the head of a long branch; and another nearer the Wach above the Petersbach. The second was tried, and the “No” as drawn. There is a beautiful place on the Annaberg not far from the first place there,--for which a blank was drawn,--there are two springs some 600 feet apart, and not far from the Petersbach, and as it is so hard to find the right place we presented this also, but the answer was “No”. Now we must look toward the Lech and the Mill Creek.” (v. 1; 310)</p>
13	Feb	1765	Re	<p>“We have found a new place for a town between the heads of the Petersbach and the Lech; it lies on three ridges and is rather large. We have divided it into three sites, (1) toward the north, (2) between this and a run which empties into the Lech, (3) one toward the south, which connects with the Annaberg. These three and a blank were prepared, and the blank was drawn. We can do nothing more in the matter today.” (v. 1; 310)</p>
14	Feb	1765	Re	<p>“We have looked over two more places, one next that which we called Gammern’s town site, and another nearer the Wach. Both were presented as No. 1, No. 2, and a blank. No. 2 was drawn in the Lot. It is pleasant that the Text today fits beautifully:--“Let thine eye be opened toward this house night and day, even</p>

				toward the place of which Thou hast said, My name shall be there.” [I Kings VIII, 15]” (v. 1; 310)
---	Jul	1765	Re	<p style="text-align: right;">“Bethlehem, July, 1765.</p> <p>A Congregation-Town differs from other Congregation is that it is more like one family, where the religious and material condition of each member is known in detail, where each person receives the appropriate Choir oversight, and also assistance in consecrating the daily life. This must be considered in deciding the form of the Town Plan.</p> <p>The departed Junger [[Zinzendorf]] has remarked that close building, as in a city, is not suitable for this, nor the many-storied apartment houses, as the large number of residents and the mixture of families, and the inconvenience it occasions as to barnyards, is disadvantageous for all and especially for the children. In a Congregation-Town, therefore not more than two houses should be built side by side (which also lessens the fire risk,) and where possible each family should have a separate house..</p> <p>...the Conference has considered the Plan for the town, and thinks the size of the lots in Lititz, which has proved convenient there, might be used,--that is 66 ft. broad, and 200 ft. deep, or thereabouts. An exception could be made in special cases, where it did not interfere with any more important feature.</p> <p>I have made several plans, partly like Niesky, with one main street running across the middle of the square, partly like Gnadenberg, with cross streets. Of them the enclosed has received the most approbation. Br. Reuter considers it important that the main street runs in a straight line from the Wach, through the town, and beyond it; I think too that this will be best, so I have provided for it in the suggested plans. I have made it 60 ft wide, as in Lititz, where the main street was originally only 40 ft. wide but that was found to be too narrow, and it was learned that 60 ft. was not too wide for the main street; the other streets are 40 ft. The Square is different in proportion but about the size that Br. Reuter suggested. The Gemein Haus, Saal, Boys’ and Girls’ School, their kitchens and gardens, are all together; then the Widows’ House, and the House for Single Sisters, which if desired may have a wider frontage. (All of these lots can run to the bottom land, and beyond if it is needed for gardens.) On the other side will be the Widowers’ House, or whatever of that kind of building may be needed. A Single Brothers’ House is a manufacturing center, and an important business feature of the Congregation, and may well stand beside the Widowers’ House,</p>

				<p>and keep all the business together; it would not be well to put these among the family houses. Besides they will need much room, which could be found in the lots opposite the Gemein Haus, running back some distance. * * * In order to keep the plan symmetrical the Store might be placed on the lower corner, since it is also larger than a family house. * * *</p> <p>This town is not designed for farmers but for those with trades, but until the town has so grown that each resident can support his family with the money earned by his handicraft or profession it will be necessary, as in Lititz, for each to have on out-lot and a meadow where he can raise his bread, flax, etc. and winter a cow, so that each family may have milk and butter, and perhaps also keep a couple of pigs, and so have food with little outlay of money.* * *...</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Freidrich Marshall</p> <p>P. S. I ask that a place be selected for the Square which is as level as possible, at least on the side where the large Gemein Haus and other buildings will stand, and also the side for the Brothers House and the Store. The two other sides of the Square do not matter, we will treat them best we can.” (Remarks concerning the Laying Out of the new Congregation Town in the center of Wachovia. v. 1, 313-5)</p>
---	Jul?	1765	M	TOWN PLAN by Reuter, with Square divided in two sections. (OS-map case 013528)
---	----	1765	M	PLAN OF SALEM, watercolor by Reuter, with Square straddling the main street. (OS-Guide Book. Original –Herrnhut Archives)
---	Aug	1765	D	<p style="text-align: right;">“Bethabara August 6, 1765</p> <p>Dear Brother Marshall:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Regarding your observation on surveying and locating the town, I know nothing further to write you except my own thoughts.</p> <p>...</p> <p>5., Br. Reuter’s idea of a straight street through the town and your idea that one should not sacrifice convenience to appearance can be readily reconciled. Whether the long street on leaving the town, continues or turns right or left, is of little moment...</p> <p>6., That one of us, or two of us jointly, agreeing on proposals should send them in, will probably not happen so long as Br. Gammern does not want to go into anything pertaining to the town.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Is not the Bohemian Nisky to be the model?...</p> <p style="text-align: right;">If the long street should not run through the middle of the</p>

				<p>Square but on one side like that in Herrnhut, if the lie of the land should indicate this, would it be departing too much from the model?...</p> <p>[Ettwein]" (OS-B. A. #1-14)</p>
16	Aug	1765	Re	<p>"[During the early years of the Wachovia Settlement all important questions concerning it were settled by the central Boards of the Unity from Herrnhut, Germany, Zeist, Holland, or London, England, according to where they were sitting at the time. In the Salem Archives there is a blank book into which Frederic William Marshall copied such portion of the Minutes of certain conferences as he thought of sufficient importance...]</p> <p><i>Herrnhut, Aug. 16, 1765.</i> Conference of a Committee from the Directorium and Unity Vorsteher Collegium, met to consider the affairs of Wachovia...</p> <p>In respect to the common-housekeeping in Bethabara it seems best that it continue until the central town is built and the businesses and professions and trades are moved thither...</p> <p>Furthermore it was determined by lot that we are to let our Brethren and Sisters in America know that the Saviour wills that Salem is to be the place in Wachovia for commerce and the professions, and they are to be moved thither from Bethabara. [v. 2, 588-9]</p>
20	Nov	1765	D	<p>"Bethabara November 20, 1765</p> <p>Dearly beloved Brother Marshall:</p> <p>...</p> <p>Regarding the plan of the town, we in the Conference are agreed how it should be. (Br. Reuter will give you his thoughts on your letter separately) Regarding the Square, we all thought it too long; because none but two-story houses will be built on the Square the place in the middle is made to appear so much larger than if three- or four-story houses were built around it. Besides, if it were shorter it would be more even and level.</p> <p>It is not only for lack of lime that we do not wish to build high houses, but I do not regard it as advisable because of the high wind-storms in this country. Last summer many large, strong trees were broken off on the Salem ridge.</p> <p>Our unauthoritative proposal would be that we should determine nothing for the time about the lane for the cattle and the street along the Run, but determine only the streets on both sides of the Square and build what we can, until you yourself can be here at some time. This would do nothing to hinder the lane or the street along the Run if they are decided upon.</p>

				... Yours, (signed) Ettwein" (OS-B. A. #1-6)
6	Jan	1766	Re	"Monday, a dozen Brethren partly from Bethania, partly from Bethabara, took a wagon and went to the new town site [[Salem]] where in the afternoon they cut down the trees on the place where the first house was to stand, singing several stanzas as they worked...Our Text for the day was beautifully appropriate for this little beginning in building: 'I will defend this city.' [Isa. XXXVII: 35.] Last night it was so piercingly cold that in our Apothecary shop certain drugs dissolved in distilled spirits froze and burst their bottles, but today it was somewhat milder." (Beth. Diary. V. 1;323)
---	----	1766	M	"WACHOVIA OR DOBBS PARISH IN ROWAN COUNTY N. CAR. WITH SOME ADDITIONAL SURVEYS, 1766, [[?]] C. G. R." Map of Wachovia , 1766, with list of Owners of Adjoining Tracts (Original in Salem Land Office) Christian Gottlieb Reuter (v. 1; 311)
12	Apr	1766	M	PLAN OF SALEM, NC 1766. Attributed to Frederick William Marshall. (OS-Negative #S-23138)
12	Apr	1766	M	MAP OF SALEM, attributed to Marshall (OS-map case 013530)
12	Apr	1766	M	MAP OF SALEM, AS PROPOSED APRIL 12, 1766. With Legend and Surrounding Area. (OS-Negative #S-21245x)
---	Aug	1766	Re	"The middle of August Joseph Miller began making brick in Salem, with the assistance of some outside workmen , his place being taken in September by Charles Colver , newly arrived from Bethlehem." (v. 2; 328)
10	Jul	1767	Re	<i>"Plans for Wachovia Made by the Committee Appointed by the Unity's Vorsteher Collegium.</i> [This paper is in the Bethlehem Archives, and it the one referred to as having been approved by the Collegium, July 19, 1767. Translated in full.] According to the instruction of the U. V. C. the undersigned have agreed upon the following proposals concerning the Oeconomie of Wachovia...[[itemized list 1-10]] 7) From these profits and receipts the Wachovia Diaconie has begun and shall continue the building of Salem, according to the map submitted by Br. Marshall and approved by the Collegium, and as it shall be further developed, according to the direction of our Lord, and as the needs of commerce there shall suggest, so that the whole town, so to speak, may move there at onetime. For this beginning

				& Co. 1774]” (Fries, historical sketch. V. 1, 363-5) [See Key Map of Wachovia, showing 1767 arrangement of the Lots of Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement in relation to modern [1920s] Township lines, v. 1, 365]
---	----	1767	M	KEY MAP OF WACHOVIA, SHOWING 1767 ARRANGEMENT OF THE LOTS OF DER NORD CAROLINA LAND UND COLONIE ETABLISSEMENT IN RELATION TO MODERN TOWNSHIP LINES. (v. 1; 365)
---	Jun	1767	Re	“In <i>June</i> brick and tile were successfully made from clay dug in the bottom...” (WD-v. 1; 351)
---	Sept	1767	Re	“In <i>September</i> Charles Colver went to Pennsylvania and Peter Stotz was given temporary charge of the Salem brickyard ” (WD- v. 1; 351)
---	---	1768	Re	“... Lime for building was a perplexing problem , but during this year sixty bushels of lime were brought from Marshall Dunckan, for 18d. per bushel. It was probably the first lime burned in North Carolina.” (v. 1, 374, 5)
14	Apr	1768	Re	<p>“[In the Salem Archives are copies of a number of reports sent by Frederic William Marshall from Wachovia to the governing Boards of the Unity. These reports are largely summaries of the events recorded in the Dairies...]</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Bethabara, April 14, 1768, sent by way of Charlestown.</p> <p>Honored and beloved Brethren,</p> <p>...Under the circumstances, and without full information as to the status of affairs, I think it unwise for me personally to take over the Vorsteher’s office, but have associated myself with the Committee already acting, to which we have added Br. Traugott Bagge, as the future book-keeper...</p> <p>The matter of clothing and other necessities, here [[Bethabara]] known as the Congregation Store, will be attended to by Sr. Gammern...</p> <p>In Salem I find three family houses ready for use, all made of framework covered with clay*, or framework filled with brick and clay. All are of one story, with two rooms. A kitchen and a cellar; in addition there is one two-story house, which is not arranged as I planned with Br. Schropp, but has a small Gemein Saal below, and above has two rooms and a kitchen. The proportions of the houses are good, and with their regular placing and their tile roofs they make a not displeasing appearance. I imagine we shall have to cover the</p>

				<p>walls with weather-boards, which in this country is the most expensive method, and not a good one on account of the sharp lightning and other danger from fire, but without lime it seems to be the only thing we can do.</p> <p>The definite fixing of lines, which should have been done at first but was not, we will now attend to as soon as possible, so that the placing of the next buildings may be definite. We measured the fall of nearer and more distant springs, from which we hope to obtain a sufficient and constant supply of water for the town, and as we find that it will not be possible to run it to the entire square and main buildings as at present intended we are considering moving the Square several building lots lower, where the ground is more level, and the plans would not have to be otherwise changed. If the Square is so moved the lower edge of the town will still be 70 ft. above the Wach, which flows near by, and the upper part of Salem will be about twice as high, so that both the lower and the upper parts of the town will be higher than Bethlehem, and no one can question the healthfulness of the situation. Our next matter for consideration will be the building of the Choir Houses, the store and the tavern, and the arranging of the present buildings for the trades that will be carried on in them.”</p> <p>[*footnote-“In the Salem Archives there is a note-book in which Marshall jotted down, in English, a surprising variety of things, from personal accounts and items of business to remedies for chilblains and colic. Most of the entries were made before he came to live in Carolina, but in the description of the construction of a house there occurs the following, which fits old walls in Salem, remnants of which are in the Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society. ‘Then laths $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch thick are nailed from post to post about five feet distant and the Laths five inches distant. These are wrapped around with straw clay and thus the Plaistering may be added with a thin Coat of mortar, and all Vacancies are filled up. The Coat of Clay at that rate will be about 3 Inches thick.’ The ‘Straw Clay’ was an actual mixture of straw and clay, both relatively plentiful, while lime for mortar was one of the things which the pioneer settlers found most difficult to procure.”</p> <p>[(Report sent by Marshall from Wachovia to the governing Boards of the Unity.) [v.2, 603-5]</p>
6	Nov	1768	Re	<p>“...In regard to the Salem Gemein Haus it was decided that the basement and the first story should be built of stone.” (v. 1; 392)</p>

KEY:**FOURTH COLUMN:**

D=Documents

I= Images

M=Maps

N= Newspapers

NC=North Carolina records

P=Personnel Files at Old Salem Library & Research

R =Original records, transcribed; on file at Old Salem Library & Research.

Re=*Records of the Moravians*

FIFTH COLUMN:

AC=Aufseher Collegium

AeC= Elders Conference (Aeltesten Conferenz)

B=Bethabara

D=Diary (i.e.-SD=Salem Diary)

EC=Elders Conference (Aeltesten Conferenz)

F=Friedland

GHC=Grosse Helfer Conference

HC=same as GHC

PEC=Provincial Elders Conference

Mem=Memorabilia

Mor Arch-SP=Moravian Archives-Southern Province (Winston-Salem, NC)

ROMNC=Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*

S=Salem

WM=Wachovia Memorabilia

Documents of importance; in Appendix.

References to the Country Congregations in Wachovia.

References to Salem.

Entries which have been double-checked for accuracy but seem to contradict other information.

[] = Notes written by A. Fries, ed. of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, or by author of transcription/translation of specific document.

[[]] =Notes written by L. Culler, ed. of this Timeline.

The Bagge Manuscript: “[The Manuscript gives a summary of the events leading up to the War of the Revolution, and many details of the incidents in Wachovia, etc. to the end of 1779. From other sources it appears that Bishop Graff died in that year, and when in 1783 the pastor then stationed in Salem was asked to prepare a Memorabilia of the events of the Revolution he asked Bagge to help him with the part antedating his own coming to Wachovia, and Bagge complied by writing this most valuable Sketch.]” [[Excerpts have been included chronologically where appropriate.]]

The Bagge Papers: **** [[Papers taken from the collection made by Traugott Bagge during the Revolutionary War, and preserved in the Salem Archives. The numbering, in Roman numerals, is continued from the part of the collection which was given in Fries, Adelaide, ed. , *Records of the Moravins in North Carolina, vol. II.*]]

Salem Archives Papers: [[A collection of papers and documents outside of the Bagge collection, so are printed under a separate series of numbers.]]

9/27/08

TIMELINE-BUSINESS

(Sample Pages)

4-8	May	1773	D	“INVENTORY OF THE STORE IN LITITZ [[PA]] TAKEN FROM THE 4 TH TO 8 TH MAY 1773” (OS-INVENTORY, Bethlehem Store, Also Lititz)
18	May	1773	Re	“There was discussion concerning the building of a powder-house in the upper corner of the Skin House lot, on the road to God’s Acre. Br. Bagge urged the necessity for at once planning for the building of a new Store and dwelling house. ” (AC, v. 2, 769)
18	May	1773	R	“On this occasion Br. Bagge suggested seriously to the Collegium that it would be absolutely necessary to start the erection of a new hide house and to clear finally the matter whether to build a new store and a new house [for the merchant] or not.” (AC-EH)
19	May	1773	Re	“(Auf/ Col.) There was further discussion concerning the Store. For immediate use a house 16 by 24 feet shall be built of stripped logs, beams thrown across, and a few more logs added, so that an upper floor can be laid when needed. It shall stand back in the future Store lot, and will give the Store the place lost in the present Skin House, and skins can be stored in it for the time being. The permanent Skin House, however, shall stand on a line with the Dwelling and the Store House on the Main Street, where the scales shall also be. The dwelling house shall stand on the corner, opposite Reuter’s, then the Store, and then the Skin House. The temporary Skin House shall be built as soon as possible. When the little powder house is ready work shall begin on the present Skin House.” (v. 2, 770)
19	May	1773	R	“At further consideration of what we could do for the store we decided that we could build for the present time a house 16 x 24 feet of peeled blocks, beams thrown across, and a few more blocks added, so that an upper floor can be laid when needed. The house could stand behind in the yard and would be used for the present as a space which is lost for the present store hide house. The permanent hide house, however, would stand on a line with the living and store house right on the main street. There we shall also have the scales. The living and store house would come at the corner of the street. The apartment across from Br. Reuter [then living on Lot 64], then the store and then the permanent hide house. We shall try to fix the first mentioned house as soon as possible. In the

				meantime they can start with the building, on the upper part of the present hide house lot, of the little house for the ammunition.” (AC-EH)
20	May	1773	R	“Recently Br. Bagge has talked with the Brethren that the joiners should not start with the upper part of the hide house [on lot 35] until he can move. For the next session he asked us to consider of it would not be the best thing to build something lasting for the [new] store [hide house] at the right place where it is supposed to be, than something uncertain and only temporary, which will cost more than calculated now, and which will, in the end, not suffice for the purposes which it was built. We all agreed on this.” (AC-EH)
25	May	1773	R	“In the matter of the new store house it was decided to build first a hide house and then a living and store house, both, however, shall be erected at the main street. About the material out of which we are going to have these houses built, also their style will be discussed. In the meantime a plan shall be made.” (AC-EH) [See entry of 28 Dec 1784]
21	Jun	1773	R	<p>“Much has been said about the future store; the main thing was that everything under the eve should be done [laid up] with clay, others, however, plastered on the outside. The store as well as the hide house could be erected completely out of raw stones, and for some partition walls we can use unburned bricks. [See entry of 28 Dec 1784]</p> <p>When we started to speak about the construction Br. Marshall mentioned that he had noticed when measuring out the lot of the store that the Single Brothers, without knowledge of the Conference, which was still in Bethabara at that time, had taken 10 feet in the width from the lot between their and the store lot. Now they claim their right for the place. We think that this is not right and that they should return this lot.” (AC-EH)</p>
21	Jun	1773	Re	“(Auf. Col.) The future Store building was discussed , and it was decided that for durability the walls under the eaves should be laid up with clay, others, however, plastered on the outside. The inner dividing walls can be of unburned brick; the outer walls of both Store and Skin House shall be entirely of uncut stone. ” (v.2, 770-1)
4	Jul	1773	Re	“(G. Helf. Conf.) It was proposed that signs be places on the houses of those having professions, and on the Store and Tavern , for the convenience of strangers coming to town. The signs should give the name of the Master and his profession, -- ‘Charles Holder, a saddler,’ ‘Gottfried Aust, a potter.’ [v.2, 771]

30 30	Jul Apr	1773- 1777	D	ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING MATERIALS AND COSTS OF THE STORE.
---	-----	-----	I	"A SECTION OF THE COLLET MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA." (v. 2; facing 760)
16	Aug	1773	I	"LETTER FROM GOVERNOR JOSIAH MARTIN. Accompanying a gift of the Collet Map of North Carolina" (v. 2; facing 746) [[see – Sep, 1773]]
23	Aug	1773	P	"Br. Bagge reported that it would necessary for him to hire or buy a Negro woman, because he cannot get through with all his work without a maid who is constantly around. The single Sisters are not willing to give a maid for at least ¼ a year, and to pay them weekly constantly 7sh would be too high for him. The Colleguim did not oppose him, and his matter shall be transferred to the Conference of the Elders. If from there no opposition comes, he may as well buy his Negro Woman." (Auf. Col.)
---	Sep	1773	Re	<p>"[Marshall's Report to U. E. C. About the middle of September a letter came from our dear Governor, and with it a map* of this Province, which we had long tried to secure but without success. He had finally found one, and sent it to us as a gift. If our Representative goes to Newbern this month to the Assembly that will be our best opportunity for thanking him, and for sending him a map of this County showing the line recently run between Rowan and Surry...]" (v. 2; 760)</p> <p>*["From various papers printed in the Colonial Records it appears that in 1766 William Churton showed Gov. Tryon a map of North Carolina for which he had long been gathering information, and at Tryon's suggestion the Assembly granted Churton L155: Proc. Toward having it printed in England. During 1767 Churton made several journeys into the southern part of the seaboard to correct the errors he had discovered in the old maps he had been using for that section of his work; the Earl Granville section he knew was substantially correct, as it was compiled from his own surveys. In December 1767, Churton died, leaving the map, so far as it had gone, to Governor Tryon. In October, 1768, Tryon wrote to the Earl of Hillsboro, stating that he had commissioned Capt. Collet to continue work on the map, and he had redrawn it from the Churton charts, and was taking it to England to submit to His Majesty, in the hope of having it printed. Tryon said that the lower section of the map was still not satisfactory, and suggested that Collet be commissioned to some back and make additional surveys. It does not appear whether this was done, or whether the map was printed as drawn. The Wachovia</p>

				Historical Society has a copy of the map, which is 3 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 7 in. in size. In the lower right-hand corner is a rather elaborate design, including the English Coat-of-Arms, an Indian, a wild-cat, and an alligator, and under it the inscription:- -“To His most Excellent Majesty George III, King of Great Britain, et., etc., etc., This Map is most humbly dedicated by his Majesty’s most humble obedient and dutiful Subject, John Collet.”] (v. 2; 760)
18	Sep	1773	P	“We all approved of Br. Bagge’s suggestion to take the Br. Heckenwalder with him to Charlestown and to ask Br. Reuter if he could take over the Store for this time.” (Auf. Col.)
18	Sep	1773	Re	“A great many counterfeit English half pence, and good and bad Irish half pence, are now in circulation, which people wish to have accepted as one penny, even as the good English half pence are taken. In Salisbury and other places people are refusing to accept this false currency at one penny of our money, but take it at a less value; consequently all the bad money has drifted to our neighborhood , so that we scarcely see the genuine any more. It will be best in the future to accept only genuine English half pence at one penny, Proc. And all the rest at two for one penny, Proc.” (AC, v. 2, 773)
4	Oct	1773	Re	“Br. Bagge will order the stamped weights and measures from Philadelphia.” (GHC, v. 2, 774)
30	Oct	1773	R	“The Elders’ Conference delivered the following to the Aufseher Coll. In writing: Regarding Br. Bagge’s’ request he be permitted to buy a negro woman , the Elders’ Conference directs as follows: a. That no connection may exist between the negro woman he buys and the negro man belonging to Br. Herbst, in any manner; b. therefore, it would not be wise for Br. Bagge to buy an adult negro woman, only a girl; otherwise Br. Herbst would have to dispose of his negro man, against whom there are many complaints already; c. when Br. Bagge buys the negro girl, Geo. Bibighausen may no longer be used for house duties, but for the store only.” (EC)
2	Nov	1773	P	One of the conditions of Br. Bagge purchasing a slave was: “If he buys a Negro woman he is not permitted to use Georg Bibighausen in his domestic services, but only in the Store...At the same time B. Bagge said that he had never misused his boy and had given him enough opportunity to learn the right things. He could, however, do nothing

				against his laziness and would have to use him therefore for woodcutting anyway.” (Auf. Col.)
9	Nov	1773	Re	“Br. Bagge left, with four wagons, for Charlestown.” (SD- v. 2, 761)
3	Dec	1773	Re	“Br. Bagge returned this evening from Charlestown.” (SD-v. 2, 761)
8	Dec	1773	Re	“(Auf. Col.) There was discussion concerning a journeyman potter, by the name of Ellis* , who arrived today from Charlestown, coming of this own accord. He had been in Pine Tree, and was on his way to Charlestown when he met Br. Bagge, and asked if he might not come here , and was told he might do as he liked, but no promise of work could be given; that would have to be arranged with Br. Aust. He understands how to glaze and burn Queens Ware, so the Collegium approves Br. Aust’s suggestion, which is, that a kiln, suitable for burning such ware, be built on the lot occupied by Br. Ludwig Meinung, which adjoins Aust’s , where the man can work under supervision. He shall receive food and clothing, and a douceur for his work, and we will learn all we can from him about glazing, of which Br. Aust already has some knowledge. it should be noted that two and a half years ago Br. Aust learned something of the art of making this ware from a traveling potter, though he had not tried to draw it from him; and that Ellis should now come here of his own accord makes us think that the Almighty means that this art should be established here.” [*footnote-“Called Allen in the Salem Diary, December 10, 1773.”] (v. 2, 775)
10	Dec	1773	Re	“The wagons returned from Charlestown today. With them came a negro girl, whom Br. Bagge bought in Charlestown for service in his family. .” (SD-v. 2, 762)
21	Dec	1773	Re	“Br. Fockel shall receive L60: salary from the Store [at Bethabara]”. (PEC, v. 2, 776)
21	Dec	1773	P	“The Brn. Bagge and Steiner want to go before the beginning of the New Year to Cross Creek, each one in his own business affairs.” (Auf. Col.)
22	Dec	1773	R	“The Brn. Marshall, Graff and the Collegium looked at the newly designed plan of the Store and the living house for it. Br. Bagge mentioned all his old wishes about it. So we thought he should turn in a plan of how he would like to have things arranged so that we can debate about the matter.” (AC-EH)
-	--	1774	Re	“[Editorial....The Diaries and Minutes of 1774 contain many references to the trades and professions in Salem....show a

				<p>remarkable variety, considering that the town of Salem was only eight years old.</p> <p>...The daily life of the women included the usual duties of housekeeping, cooking, sewing, spinning, knitting, gardening, also teaching, nursing, and midwifery.</p> <p>Businesses conducted for the benefit of the community were,--store, tavern, pottery, tanyard, brickyard, two farms, and mill; and a small stock of religious books was kept on hand, and sold practically at cost. In connection with the Single Brothers House there was a farm, brewery, bakery, and butchery; and certain of the trades later carried on by individuals were financed for a time by the House funds.</p> <p>Among the men, married and single, living in the Brothers House or outside, were the Church officers mentioned above, and the men who worked in the community and Brothers House businesses; there were also professional men,--doctor, apothecary, surveyor, forester, roadmaster; and in addition many handicraftsmen,--masons, carpenters, sawyers, cabinet-maker, wagon-maker, weaver, dyer, tailor, locksmith, gunsmith, locksmith, sicklesmith, nailsmith, saddler, dresser of deer-skins, maker of leather breeches, shoemaker, nurse school-teachers, book-keeper, tobacco manufacturer, seedsman, night-watchmen. When two or more men had the same trade one was recognized as the master-workman, and the others as his journeymen; many of the master-workmen also had apprentices. There were only a few slaves in the town and they were either house-servants or employed for heavy work,--they were not taught trades.</p> <p>...While most of the trades and professions had moved to Salem, Bethabara still had a tavern, store, distillery, and farm, with a shoe-maker and a few other craftsmen.” (v.2,830-1))</p>
---	-----	1774	Re	<p>“The Court of Surry County appointed Br. Reuter as Road Master for Dobbs parish, and in obedience to a law he has measured the main roads from Salem to the nearest town or settlement, and marked the miles on trees or posts, and he has also placed sign-posts at the cross roads on the three main roads leading out of Salem, to the great satisfaction of travelers.</p> <p>... Through the blessing of God a new building for the Store has been erected and nearly finished.</p> <p>...The Congregation in Salem consists of 125 persons.” (WM, v. 2, 810-1)</p>
---	-----	1774	Re	<p>“For various reasons, our trade has been unusually</p>

				<p>difficult, especially with the commercial towns at some distance, and there has been some loss, although we have been able to maintain the business...</p> <p>The Court of Surry County appointed Br. Reuter as Road Master for Dobbs Parish, and in obedience to a law he has measured the main roads from Salem to the nearest town or settlement, and marked the miles on trees or posts, and he has also placed sign-posts at the cross roads on the three main roads leading out of Salem, to the great satisfaction of travelers." (Wach. Memo- v. 2, 810-1)</p>
12	Jan	1774	R	<p>"...A letter from Br. Bagge to this Conf. was read. He states that the business of all the Administration accounts, the Congregation Diacony and the Aufseher Coll. hinder him from attending to his own business in the store and his duties in his home. It was resolved that the Brn. of the Helpers' Conference confer with him about it." (EC)</p>
14	Jan	1774	R	<p>"The Helpers' Conference invited Br. Bagge to meet with them, but he was so busy with customers in the store and Heckewelder had ridden out to collect bills, that he was hindered from coming." (EC)</p>
18	Jan	1774	R	<p>"Brn. of the Helpers' Conf. had a thorough heart-to-heart talk with Br. Bagge. His difficulties were resolved in such a manner that he can keep his office as president of the Aufseher Coll.-in which he was confirmed by the Saviour—and Br. Meinung was proposed to keep the minutes in the Auf. Coll. So far as Administration accounts, and since the Administration accounts, the Congregation Diacony and the store each has its own creditors and debtors, our members and outsiders will know to whom to go to collect what is due them or to pay their bills. Brotherly cooperation will be necessary on both sides: Br. Bagge will never lack this on our part and he will give us the same. It was a Brotherly agreement." (EC)</p>
26	Jan	1774	R	<p>"The new store which is to be built for Br. Bagge according to his proposal and sketch is to be only one-story, but consequently more spread-out and expensive. We considered whether, after all, a two-story house might not be indicated. We place into the Lot: "Have we anything more to ask in the matter?" We received, "No". We decided, therefore, to do nothing further, but to let the building go on as planned." (EC-S)</p>
1	Feb	1774	Re	<p>"It was agreed that it was now time to fell the timber for the new Store building. (Prof. Helf. Conf.) Care shall be used that no man is</p>

				allowed to make debts beyond his credit.” (AC, v. 2, 824)
21	Feb	1774	Re	“Today at three o’clock there was an earthquake. The bells hanging in the store [[Bethabara]] all rang at the same time... ” [BD, v.2, 832]
16	Mar	1774	Re	“ Br. Bagge reports that he bought about 500 lbs. of sole leather in Cross Creek; including transportation it cost about 18d per lb. Br. Heinzmann takes some for the shoe-shop, and Br. Herbst takes the rest for customers at the tanyard.” (AC, v. 2, 825)
22	Mar	1774	Re	<p>“[A short time ago Br. Bagge was in Cross Creek, where he bought several wagonloads of goods. It has been agreed that the loss by the recent robbery shall be shared equally by the two parties, (i.e. by the Salem Store and the Cross Creek merchant). Since then a still greater robbery has taken place there, and a store-keeper was murdered, and the residents of Cross Creek have offered a reward of L55: for the discovery of the thief. Here in Salem there have been several attempts at stealing,--some one tried to pull out of the frame-work of the pottery the bricks which were walled in, but a movement in the house frightened him away. It was therefore decided to have a night-watchman, who begins his work on March 27th.</p> <p>...The present residents of Salem are comfortably enough located, but not even one more family could be housed while building for itself, and the inhabitants are not in position to build more houses. Therefore a year ago already the Unity Diaconie decided to build a new store, as the house now occupied is not convenient for this purpose; and the cornerstone was laid on April 5th.” (SD, v. 2, 815-6)</p>
24	Mar	1774	Re	<p>“The expense of the Nightwatchman has been discussed in Congregation Council, and some changes made. Br. Zillman wishes L22: per year, out of which he will pay all expenses except the great-coat for which he has asked. Contributions shall be,--</p> <p>From the 13 Married Brethren, @ 4d per four weeks, and 40 Single Brethren @ 4d per four weeks, --for the year.....11: 9: 8</p> <p>From George Schmidt for this business [blacksmith] 10d per four weeks.....10:10</p> <p>From Jacob Bonn for his business [apothecary] 10d per four weeks.....10:10</p> <p>Pottery, 1sh. Per four weeks.....13:--</p> <p>Tavern, 2sh. Per four weeks.....1: 6:--</p> <p>Tan-yard, 1 sh, pd per four weeks.....1: 2: 9</p> <p>Store, 7sh. Per four weeks.....4:11:--</p>

				<p>Single Brothers Diaconie, 5sh. Per four weeks.....3: 5:-- Congregation Diaconie, 2sh. Per four weeks.....1: 6:--</p> <p style="text-align: right;">L24:15: 1</p> <p>(AC, v. 2, 826)</p>
12	Apr	1774	R	<p>“We have a letter from Br. Fockel in Bethabara. He asks in view of the unhealthy dwelling in which he lives, that an addition be built or that he have a change of location for living. Then he makes proposals about the Bethabara store, from which it can be seen that he does not like to stand under Br. Bagge. No change can be made with regard to the Bethabara store for that can be carried on in no other way than that it stands under the Salem store and that the stores are <u>one</u> business from which the Bethabara Diacony receives one-third of the clear profit.” (EC)</p>
21	Apr	1774	Re	<p>“The Single Brethren present a plan for a wagon shed and a room for the teamsters; it has the approbation of the Collegium.” (AC, v. 2, 826)</p>
14	Jul	1774	Re	<p>“It was mentioned that there are one or two painters [panthers] in the neighborhood. It would be well to hunt them; the law promises 10sh. Bounty, the man who sells the skin receives 5sh., and there is a premium from Salem, Bethabara and Bethania of 10sh, total L1: 5:--.” (AC, v. 2, 828)</p>
19	Jul	1774	R	<p>“<u>Prov. Helpers’ Conference.</u> Br. Bagge mentions in a letter that at the annual settlement of accounts with Br. Fockel he found out that the latter is not satisfied with his salary of 60 Pounds nor with the allowance of 12 Pounds for his daughter in Salem, and in this connection used the expression: “He must find a way to help himself.” In this connection the Principle, renewed at the last General Synod and resolved by us to be kept inviolate, was reviewed:</p> <p>‘No one who serves in a Congregation Diacony trade may take anything for himself more than that which has been appointed for him. Otherwise it is sinning. If a Brother gets into such circumstances that he can not subsist on what has been appointed for him, he must declare it honestly and give the reasons why he needs more. No one can act according to his own inclination.’” (EC)</p>
28	Jul	1774	Re	<p>“It is calculated that 1000 ordinary brick cost 30sh.; the large ones 40sh. per 100.” (AC, v. 2, 828)</p>
2	Aug	1774	R	<p>“In the Salem store, as well as the Bethabara store, the butter which is brought in is to be washed, so that it does not spoil. Since the decline of the trade in furs, butter is a main</p>

				product of this section.” (EC-S)
2	Aug	1774	Re	“(Prov. Helf. Conf.) In the Salem and Bethabara Stores the butter that is bought shall be washed , so that it does not spoil, for as the trade in skins falls off butter becomes one of the chief products of the land.” (v. 2, 828)
3	Aug	1774	R	“There are complaints about Br. Bagge, that he continues to buy in and stock shoes, to the detriment of the shoemaker’s trade. He has prior to this also bought in and stocked plumber’s wares. There is to be discussion about this in Auf. Coll...” (EC)
7	Aug	1774	P	Appointed on a jury to consider a road to Belews Creek. (HC)
8	Aug	1774	Re	“Many people were here [[Bethabara]], some on their way to Court, some to sell- deer-skins, some wishing to buy powder.” (BD, v. 2, 835)
9	Aug	1774	Re	“ Many more came for powder [Bethabara], and as long as it lasted each got a little. The poor people need it badly to protect their corn against vermin as raccoons and squirrels, or it will be ruined.” (BD, v. 2, 835)
23	Aug	1774	R	“...Br. Bagge declared his purpose to build a house for himself and to sell his two lots of 4,00 acres @ 35 Pounds to the Brethren’s Unity, and to let the money stand with them at 5% interest... ” (EC)
1	Sep	1774	Re	<p>“...Owing to the spring frost there is neither mast nor forage in the woods, so the larger and smaller wild creature,--field mice, squirrels, raccoons, possums, bears, --and the feathered tribe, were driven into the fields, and did much damage, especially to the corn. Panthers have been seen several times,--they have not injured any persons, though they have followed some. It is no wonder that when the store secured two or three wagon-loads of fresh goods from Cross-Creek, the entire amount of powder, 100 lbs, was sold in a few days.</p> <p>Even as the fields team with thieving creatures so it goes among men, for there is robbery, murder, stealing of horses and swine, and the counterfeiting of both paper and hard money, so that there is no kind which has not been counterfeited. The present unrest permits the turbulent spirit to increase greatly, but, thank God, we have remained undisturbed, except for a few minor incidents.” (SD, v. 2, 818)</p>
12 13	Sep	1774	R	“Before Br. Marshall sets out on his journey to Europe, the Salem Diacony balance sheet should be made out so that the Administration Accounts also can be regulated. This was asked of the Auf. Coll. In a memorandum. Following this, Br.

				<p>Graff will have the treasury, Br. Meinung doing the bookkeeping and getting in the quit-rents. Br. Reuter shall attend to land sales, but do nothing without asking. Br. Bagge could be negotiator.</p> <p>If a branch (trade) of the Congregation Diacony has houses for its use, e.g., store, tavern, etc., if it no longer has use for such houses, may not turn over such houses <u>de facto</u> to the Congregation Diacony, but must carry them on their books until they can be disposed of again to a buyer or renter..." (EC)</p>
<p>KEY:</p> <p>FOURTH COLUMN:</p> <p>D=Documents I= Images M=Maps N= Newspapers NC=North Carolina records P=Personnel Files at Old Salem Library & Research R =Original records, transcribed; on file at Old Salem Library & Research. Re=<i>Records of the Moravians</i></p> <p>FIFTH COLUMN:</p> <p>AC=Aufseher Collegium AeC=Elders Conference (Aeltesten Conferenz) B=Bethabara D=Diary (i.e.-SD=Salem Diary) EC=Elders Conference (Aeltesten Conferenz) F=Friedland GHC=Grosse Helfer Conference HC=same as GHC PEC=Provincial Elders Conference Mem=Memorabilia Mor Arch-SP=Moravian Archives-Southern Province (Winston-Salem, NC) ROMNC=Fries, ed., <i>Records of the Moravians in North Carolina</i> S=Salem WM=Wachovia Memorabilia</p> <p>Documents of importance; in Appendix. References to the Country Congregations in Wachovia. References to Salem. Entries which have been double-checked for accuracy but seem to contradict other information.</p>				

[] =Notes written by A. Fries, ed. of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, or by author of transcription/translation of specific document.

[[]] =Notes written by L. Culler, ed. of this Timeline.

The Bagge Manuscript: “[The Manuscript gives a summary of the events leading up to the War of the Revolution, and many details of the incidents in Wachovia, etc. to the end of 1779. From other sources it appears that Bishop Graff died in that year, and when in 1783 the pastor then stationed in Salem was asked to prepare a Memorabilia of the events of the Revolution he asked Bagge to help him with the part antedating his own coming to Wachovia, and Bagge complied by writing this most valuable Sketch.]” [[Excerpts have been included chronologically where appropriate.]]

The Bagge Papers: ***** [[Papers taken from the collection made by Traugott Bagge during the Revolutionary War, and preserved in the Salem Archives. The numbering, in Roman numerals, is continued from the part of the collection which was given in Fries, Adelaide, ed. , *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. II.]]

Salem Archives Papers: [[A collection of papers and documents outside of the Bagge collection, so are printed under a separate series of numbers.]]

9/27/08

TIMELINE-PERSONAL, FAMILY

(Sample Pages)

29	Sep	1774	Re	<p>“Special Bonds, 1772-1776 [Editorial] The following Special Bonds were given to James Hutton and his Attorney, Frederic William Marshall, as guarantee that the land covered by their fee simple Deeds. Of even date, would not be sold without giving Hutton and Marshall the option of buying it for the Unity of Brethren.</p> <p>....Traugott Bagge, of Salem, N.C., Merchant, 2000 acres.” [v.2,923]</p>
11	Oct	1774	Re	<p>“As there is much illicit buying and selling being done by negroes, to the disturbance of the Congregation, it was announced in Congregation Council that no one should buy from such a person unless he could show a permit from his master...</p> <p>The Leases for the three Brethren Bagge, Schmidt and Triebel, have been completed.” [AC?, v. 2, 828]</p>
18	Oct	1774	Re	<p>“[A number of persons who had almost paid for their land, and who could not get Deeds in Br. Marshall’s absence, made every effort to complete their payments, and have received their Deeds, so that Wachovia now has almost as many Freeholders as all the rest of the County put together. Since our last report Br. Traugott Bagge has had the Durninger lot surveyed for himself, and three persons who have moved hither from Maryland have together taken 706 acres...”]. [v. 2, 820]</p>
23	Nov	1774	Re	<p>“It was agreed that there ought to be classes for the boys in the Brothers House, in which English, writing and arithmetic should be taught. Br. Heckewalder will hold the school twice a week.” [v. 2, 829]</p>
19	Apr	1775	P	<p>“A letter from Br. Bagge [states]...that, in the future, he has no time and does not feel anymore like being a member of the Collegium...In the letter he has included several bills in his favor: The Community Account which is owing to him a balance of L32: 5:5 and other things. He has asked a statement about that from the Collegium, and also on the whole of his annual account. Finally he also made a suggestion about Charles Holder. He said that he could not receive any more finished work from him. Therefore, he wanted to use him in his own house and give him some carpenter’s work. He...” (Auf. Col.)</p>
3	May	1775	R	<p>“Since Br. Reuter has decided to take the corner lot [64] he naturally would like to have the free street in order to come to the water. In spite of this, Br. Bagge has had all the street ploughed</p>

				<p>over again this year.</p> <p>As often as Br. Reuter has measured off the lots for him, Br. Bagge has always put the fence beyond the measured land, not because he wants more of it, but just because he does not like to have other people order him about anything.</p> <p>Since we have talked about this matter already last year and have made a protocol about it, we found it unnecessary to come to another resolution. He shall within 8 days fence in his garden and his lot so that the street will remain free.” (AC-EH)</p>
3	May	1775	P	<p>“A letter from Br. Reuter...complains about Br. Bagge:</p> <p>1) That he, Br. Reuter, has noticed for several years that Br. Bagge, not in words, but in his deeds, is against the order of the community.</p> <p>2) Since Br. Reuter has decided to take the corner lot he naturally would also like to have the free street in order to come to the water. In spite of this, Br. Bagge has again had all the street ploughed this year.</p> <p>3) As often as Br. Reuter has measured off the lots for him, Br. Bagge has always put out the fence beyond the measured land, not because he wants more of it, but just because he does not like to have other people order him something.</p> <p>Since we have talked about this matter already last year and have made a protocol about it, we found it unnecessary to come to another resolution. He shall within 8 days fence in his garden and his lot so that the street will remain free.</p> <p>Br. Wallis has to talk with him anyway so that he will mention this matter to him also. And if he does not care to understand, the Collegium will know its duty and the obligation it took over for the benefit of the community.” (Auf. Col.)</p>
8	May	1775	R	<p>“Br. Bagge finished moving from the old into the new store, and tonight he and his family slept there for the first time.” (SD-F)</p>
10	May	1775	R	<p>“Br. Wallis has talked to Br. Bagge concerning Br. Reuter’s complaint about the street between his and Bagge’s lot. However, since this matter has caused already so many quarrels among the Brethren, the Collegium did not make up another resolution than this: Since Br. Bagge has had the path ploughed again this year and put seeds in it, he may have it for this year, but no longer. After that he shall have the obligation to fence all his lots in and the path shall remain a public way for everybody.” (AC-EH)</p>
13	May	1775	R	<p>“Br. Bagge is at present in a very unhappy frame of mind and has relinquished his office in the Aufseher Coll. Without</p>

				any reason. He judges the smallest mistakes of others very harshly and constantly reminds us of trifles in which we are obligated to him. We will be patient with him in this situation also, but hereafter we must put the store business on a footing in agreement with congregation regulations.” (EC)
---	----	1775	Re	[Their comparatively comfortable homes and business success made them the target for the jealousy of the lawless and unsuccessful.... (V. ---, p.841-2) [[Written by Adelaide Fries, Moravian archivist and translator of the early records from German into English. This account refers to economic challenges during the revolutionary war period.]]
4	Jul	1775	R	“A letter from Br. Traugott Bagge to this Conference was read. He declares that he wishes to come into the Aufseher Coll. again. He bases his wish on the fact that he was told to talk it over with the Saviour, which he has done. At the time the Brethren went over his accounts with him—he explained them and everything was found correct—Br. Graff told him that, before he could come to Communion again he would have to talk over with the Aufseher Coll. (Brn. Walther & Meinung being absent) his stepping out of it without explanation. Whether after that he would be able to serve in harmony with the Brethren’s conception of an office-holder or member of a Conference, would be seen later. ” (EC)
8	Jul	1775	P	“Communion Conference. In ‘Speaking,’ the members were found to be in good frame of mind for Holy Communion, especially Br. Bagge who applied for Communion after he had had an interview with Auf. Coll. ” (ECS)
22	Jul	1775	Re	“Br. Bonn, as Justice, sentenced the negro Sambo to the punishment he deserved for running away, and it was administered by young Volp; he bore it patiently and meekly. Br. Bagge has his negress punished also; he has hitherto done it himself, but seemed to be tired. ” [v.2, 877]
30	Oct	1775	Re	“(Helf. Con.) Br. Bagge is appointed Alms-giver for the wandering poor and the beggars; he shall present his account for this, from time to time, to Br. Wallis. It was proposed that if old people in the town want to buy candles from Br. Miksch he may sell them for 10d. per pound. But as most persons have been prepared, from the beginning of Salem, to make their own candles it would be better to hold the price at 1sh. Per pound. If B. Miksch could persuade B. Bagge to send candles to market instead of tallow it would give him a better chance. ” [v. 2, 899]
30	Oct	1775	P	“For the poor and beggars going about, Br. Bagge will keep the office of almoner [[almsgiver?]] and give account, from

				time to time, to Br. Wallace.” (HC)
31	Oct	1775	R	“...Bagge’s have taken a girl into their home from Melch. Schmid’s in Friedland. She may go to school one hour each day to Sr. Oesterlein.” (EC)
31	Oct	1775	Re	“(Aelt. Conf.)...Br. and Sr. Bagge have taken one of Melchoir Schneider’s daughters, from Friedland; she can attend Sr. Oesterlein’s school for one hour each day.” [v. 2, 869]
5	Dec	1775	R	“Br. Bagge’s matter about hiring 2 maids was brought up. He wants to hire Jacobina and Christina Schumacher, and there are no objections to this; since, however, he can not secure the former from Stockburger’s until after Christmas, Eliz. Werner will be given to Bagge’s house in the interim, to sleep there at night also. About the Widow Steinman whom he has mentioned in this connection also, it is too soon to come to a decision...” (EC)
24	Dec	1776	Re	“..At five o’clock in the afternoon the Christmas Eve service began; first for the children...After that was the service for the older Brethren and Sisters...there was a discourse on the Old and New Testament texts for the day, * * *which led to the reading of a metrical version of the Christmas story, which Br. Bagge had translated from the Swedish into German. [The 84 line poem is filed with the Diary; it is both musical and interesting.]...” (v. 3, 1081)
23	Feb	1777	Re	“...Br. Traugott Bagge went to our English Settlement to engage a companion for his trip to Charlestown; and as arrangements had been made for a preaching for the friends there, he will read an English sermon to the congregation...” (v. 3, 1142)
23	Sep	1777	P	“Br. Bagge intends to go next week to Cross-Creek and Charleston to try to buy wares with the large amount of Congress Money that has accumulated here. He asks that Sr. Bachhof be permitted to stay at his house while he is away.” (ECS)
30	Sep	1777	Re	“Br. Bagge and young Elrod left for Cross Creek. If Br. Bagge cannot get goods for all his Congress money there he plans to go elsewhere. During his absence Sr. Bachhof will stay with Sr. Bagge, to keep her company and to look after the house.” (v. 3, 1164)
18	Mar	1778	Re	“...Br. Herbst reported that Br. Bagge had been very unfriendly, and had said that partiality had been shown in the

				placing of the standpipes. The Collegium knows of no partiality; the reason the one stand-pipe was placed in the Square and not by the store was because in the Square a cistern could be made more easily.” (v. 3, 1258)
28	Apr	1778	Re	“(Aelt. Conf.) Br. Bagge has offered L20: toward the salary of a Brother to teach the little boys , and Br. Meyer will pay what he can, but some additional will be needed for his support. In regard to Br. Jens Schmidt it was inquired through the lot: “Is there any objection to him?” Answer: “No,” so the proposal will be made to him.” (v. 3, 1260)
20	May	1778	Re	<p>“Under the changed scale of prices in the Sisters House Sr. Oesterlein, who is now receiving 2/5 for teaching the three little girls, is not able to pay the doubled board rate. It was decided that Br. Bagge shall pay 10 sh. each four weeks for his child and Miksch’s and Br. Meyer shall pay 5 sh. each four weeks for his daughter, and if the Brn. Steiner and Baumgarten pay at the same rate it will give her an annual income of L6: to L8.</p> <p>To Br. Jens Schmid the three fathers will pay as follows: Bagge for 12 months @ 30 sh. and the 13th month 40 sh. 20: --:--, Meyer for 12 months @ 12 sh. and the 13th month 16 sh. 8:--:--, Stockburger will pay for the year.....3:--:--, And will furnish the wood for the school L31:--:-- fire for the winter.</p>
13	Jul	1778	Re	“A gentleman from Charlestown, Butler by name, has been in our tavern since the day before yesterday; he is in poor health, and plans to go to the baths in Virginia. Br. Bagge gave him the Short Account of the Brethren, which he has translated into English... He is a member of the Assembly, and thinks it is not necessary to force the Brethren to take the State Oath if they will take the Affirmation of Allegiance...” (v. 3, 1238,9)
13	Jul	1778	P	“ Br. Bagge gave him [a stranger] the Short Account of the Brethren which he has translated into English , and he has become much interested and wishes that he could have a settlement of the Brethren on his estate [near Charlestown].” (SD-F)
14	Jul	1778	Re	“...[Graff’s report to U. E. C. ... Br. Traugott Bagge has translated the Short Historical Account into English, and we will lend it to visitors of distinction who ask to read something about the Brethren. I wish it were printed.]” [This wish is fulfilled after 148 years...] (v. 3, 1239)
2	Aug	1778	Re	“... Br. Bagge and his family went on a visit to Friedberg, where he took the signatures to the Petition;... ” (v. 3, 1242)

2	Aug	1778	Re	<p><i>“Sunday. We were glad to see Br. and Sr. Bagge. * * * In the second service Br. Bagge read part of the Diary of Lichtenau. After this meeting the object of the Petition was clearly explained to the communicant and received Brethren, and its English translation was read by Br. Bagge as some of those present had not heard it. They were glad over it, and happy to be allowed to sign it, with the exception of a few who have already acted as they thought best. Then Br. Bagge visited the sick Br. Spach; and he also wrote a letter to Mr. Dunn of Salisbury concerning the Brethren here.”</i> (Friedberg Diary. v. 3, 1276.)</p>
1	Oct	1778	Re	<p>Salem Archives Papers</p> <p>[The following are outside of the Bagge collection, so are printed under a separate series of numbers.] (v. 3; 1402) [[Only a selected few are included in this Timeline.]]</p> <p>...8.</p> <p><i>Letter, Christian Heckewalder to Graff.</i></p> <p>Bethlehem, Oct 1, 1778.</p> <p>Dear Br. Graff,</p> <p>...Shortly before my arrival the dear old mother Bishoff had her heart’s desire, and gently went home [[died]] on the very day on which her foster daughter, Betsey Bagge, wrote to her weeping....” (v. 3; 1419-21)</p>
27	Oct	1778	P	<p>“By opportunity going to Penna. today Br. Graff will send the small ‘History of the Brethren’ translated by Br. Bagge into English to Br. Matthew with the suggestion that it be printed up there.” (EC-S)</p>
3	Nov	1778	Re	<p>“The Brn. Bonn and Bagge went to Bethabara to see the sick Br. Fockel...” (v. 3, 1249)</p>
9	Dec	1778	Re	<p>“Jacobina Schumacher, who has been working for Br. and Sr. Bagge, came here [[Bethabara]] today and will live with the Single Sisters and will help with the Oeconomie house-keeping.” (BD. v. 2, 1270)</p>
29	Dec	1778	Re	<p>“The Aeltesten Conferenz met for the last time in this year. The most important matter considered was the journey of the Brethren to the meeting of the Assembly at Halifax. On account of conditions in his family Br. Bagge does not wish to go; Br. Heckewalder was appointed, and as his companion the Saviour selected Br. Praezel from among six Brethren suggested, most of whom were from this Conferenz. These two Brethren immediately received their commission from the Conferenz, before the Lord, and grace and blessing was wished for them.” (v. 3, 1255)</p>

31	Jan	1779	Re	<p>“Br. Bagge, his wife and daughter, went to Bethabara, and also visited Bethania. He found all right-minded Brethren and Sisters with happy faces in view of the news received yesterday, while the others looked dejected.” (v. 3, 1290)</p>
14	Feb	1779	Re	<p>“Br. Bagge with his wife and Sr. Graff went to Friedberg. After the Sunday services he spoke with the Brethren who had signed the Petition, all of whom agreed to bear their part of the expenses of the trip of the Deputies, and many of them paid at once; each man paid \$4.00, and 1 shilling for each one hundred acres he owned...” (v. 3, 1292)</p>
26	Feb	1779	Re	<p>“Sr. Bagge today showed signs of the weakness of her mind, and it is not safe to leave her alone...” (v. 3, 1293)</p>
6	Mar	1779	Re	<p>“The Srs. Graff and Bagge, and the latter’s daughter, went to Bethabara, partly for the change, but chiefly in order that Sr. Graff might ask Sr. Fockel to come and stay with Sr. Bagge on account of her weak condition of body and mind; she declined , however, on the ground of her own infirmities.” (v. 3, 1294)</p>
23	Jun	1779	Re	<p>“As Br. Bagge went home from service he found his children playing. Charles was the minister, and Benjamin the diener. When their singstunde was over Benjamin asked whether he should ring the bell again? Charles said: “yes, but this service must be for the sick”; and behold, the next day Charles broke out with small-pox! Few children are left who can be counted well, and they are very anxious to have small-pox, and visit the sick gladly.” (v. 3, 1308)</p>
30	Jun	1779	Re	<p>“Little Betsy Bagge, who has often wept because she was the only little girl who did not have small-pox, has now taken it...” (v. 3, 1308)</p>
--	---	1779 +	Re	<p>“List of the Farm Owners in Wachovia [1779 and Later]</p> <p>1) For lots crossed with single lines deeds have been given, but the Quit Rents have not been bought. 2) For those with double crossed lines there have been given deeds in fee simple. 3) The lots numbered, but without names, have been occupied, but are now largely vacant. 4) Lots numbered, but drawn without lines, are partly rented, and partly bought but not yet paid for. 5) Lots shown on map* without numbers are outside Wachovia; some of them have been sold.</p> <p>No Name</p>

				<p>.... </p> <p>13 Traugott Bagge</p> <p>61 Traugott Bagge</p> <p>.... ” (v. 3, 1342)</p> <p>* [[Map on facing page]]</p>
--	Dec	1779	P	Elected to the newly formed Auf. Col. as a married Brother, and chosen as protocolist.
--	---	1779	M	MAP OF WACHOVIA. (v. 3, facing p.1342)
1	Feb	1780	P	“A letter from Br. Bagge to the Conference concerns the coming of the Brothers and Sisters into the Store just when he is here ...
8	Feb	1780	P	“...we think it would be best if he could privately encourage the Brothers and Sisters to come to the Store when he is there.” (Auf. Col.-EH)
16	Aug	1780	P	“Auf. Col. Minutes of Aug. 9 mentioned that Ludw. Blum had gone bathing with Gottlieb Fockel. Upon investigation this is found to be incorrect. He was sent to find spring worms for fishing for Br. Bagge, and Br. Schober who is too familiar with Br. Bagge (to tell him foolishness) reported that he had gone bathing. Br. Schober is to stop being so familiar with Br. Bagge, from which nothing good can come. ” (EC-S)
30	Aug	1780	P	[See card for Heckewelder, Christian Renatus—regarding unharmonious relationship between the two men. Heckewelder was Bagge’s storekeeper.]
13	Sep	1780	Re	“...Oh how we would thank and praise God if there were in each Congregation a group of Brethren and Sisters, known not only to God but also to the Congregation, not only single but married as well, who had dedicated themselves to be of service to the Lord in His kingdom. Then each would seek to have the spirit: I will try to be of real use to the Congregation , so long as I am a member of it;... I will be faithful in my present calling, and I will do the work expected of me with industry and loyalty; in food and drink I will be content with what is necessary, and not accustom myself with luxury; I will not use my salary for clothing which does not suit my origin and education, but will keep myself in accordance with my condition in life;...I will give my body the needful care, but I will not pamper it , when I go somewhere I will go on foot, so that walking will not be too hard for me when it is necessary; I will not accustom myself to thing which a pilgrim can not

				<p>always have where he is being used by the Lord, and which one can well do without, as Paul has said: “A soldier abstains from all things which would hinder him in his calling,” and in another place it is written: “All things are lawful for me but not all things are expedient, not all things edify.</p> <p>See, dear Brethren and Sisters, so have our Brothers and Sisters thought, in whom the first love and grace and simplicity ruled; and this is what the Saviour desires that we have once more.</p> <p>That in the Elders Conference of the Unity we resolved to send this letter to our dear Brethren and Sisters was brought about by the following circumstances. We have thought much about the work among Christians and heathen which our Lord Jesus Christ has committed to us, without our deserving or being worthy of it, and we have spoken much with each other and with the Saviour about it.” [A General Letter from the Unity’s Elders Conference at Barby, to the Moravian Congregations. Dated September 13, 1780] (v. 4, 1494-1497) [[This letter does not reach the Salem congregation until Aug., 1781; see entries Aug. 28, and Sept. 5, 1781]]</p>
11	Jul	1782	R	<p>“...the funeral service [of a Sister at Friedberg] will be tomorrow...Br. Bagge will be asked to take Br. and Sr. Graff in his little wagon...” (EC-S) [[typed notes-“Wagon Storage?”]]</p>
17	May	1783	Re	<p>“(Aelt. Conf.) The home-school [<i>Anstalt</i>] for boys will begin with three children, Samuel Meyer, Charles and Benjamin Bagge, under the supervision of the Brn. Joseph Dixon and Christian Stauber.</p> <p>Br. Praetzel will be school-father, in which capacity he will look after the household management, the order and cleanliness of the boys. The boys will rise in summer at half past five, and in winter at six o’clock, and will go to bed at eight 0’clock. They will have daily morning and evening prayers. They will take breakfast at the school, and Samuel Meyer will eat supper there. Br. Bagge’s children will go home to supper at six o’clock, returning at half past six. In the middle of the day Br. Bagge’s children will go to dinner at their home at half past eleven; Samuel Meyer will not go home until a quarter before twelve; they will all return to the school at half past twelve. The parents are to give each child his own comb and towel, but they will share a wash-pan, pitcher and jar. In summer the children shall each have a clean shirt twice a</p>

				week; the sleeping hall and the rooms shall be swept twice a week. The Brethren in charge must watch over the cleanliness and order, especially in regard to combing, washing, making beds and keeping them free of vermin, shining shoes, and so on.” (v. 4, 1851)
23	May	1783	Re	“...Today we had the pleasure of beginning a home-school with three of our little boys, Samuel Meyer, Charles and Benjamin Bagge, under the supervision of the Brn. Joseph Dixon and Christian Stauber. Br. Treibel has moved into his new quarters, and his former dwelling has been cleared out for the school. These three children, with the day-scholars and the members of the Aeltesten Conferenz and Grosse Helfer Conferenz, had a lovefeast, during which Br. Praetzel was installed as their house-father, and an Ode of thanksgiving was sung.” (v. 4, 1840)
7	Jan	1784	P	“Br. Traugott’s walk and conversation is nowadays so peculiar that we will some time have to make an opportunity for him to explain himself. For the present we will wait.” (EC-S)
14	Jul	1784	Re	“(Auf. Col.)...Br. Bagge has offered to take Sr. Bonn into his house, and board her, which offer is accepted with thanks.” [v. 5, 2035]
13	Dec	1785	P	“Since Br. Bagge and Br. Schober do not get along too well with each other the latter has asked to be taken out of the store, which was permitted to him.” (Auf. Col.-EH)
21	Dec	1785	R	“Br. Bagge must keep the door of the store leading into his living room closed at all times.” (EC-S)
31	Dec	1785	R	<p>“Bagge will comply with keeping the door from the store into his living quarters shut, as far as possible. He says it is necessary to use the door when his employees must go into the cellar. When once the store building has an addition, this can be obviated. Bagge seemed to understand that his daughter must not come into the store except on errands.</p> <p>In conversation it developed that it would be well if there were a board fence, about 7 feet high, between the S. Brn. Lot and the store lot for the length of the yards.* Br. Bagge is willing to bear a part of the expense if this is done.</p> <p>...the contemplated fence is to be built before the building of the S. Brns’s House [addition] is undertaken.” (EC-S)</p> <p>*[the use of the word “yards” here denotes the part of the lot between the front of the street and the garden. Note line behind</p>

				many of the houses on the map of 1773-1774, the part on the street side of this line being colored yellow and that the rear part is colored green.]
--	-----	1786	Re	<p><i>“Catalog of the Single Sisters and Older Girls, Salem, 1786</i></p> <p>[The catalog gives name, date and place of birth, date of coming to Salem, reception into the congregation, date of first Communion, and occupation. Only the first and last are copied here. (Fries)]</p> <p>...</p> <p>Elisabeth Bagge—is with her parents....” (v. 5, 2395)</p>
15	Feb	1786	Re	<p>(Aelt. Conf.)...Br. Bagge asks that his two sons, Charles and Benjamin, may learn to play the clavier, and Br. Freidrich Peter can give them one hour a day. The matter will be discussed with Br. Bagge, and arrangements will be made for the boys to practice on a clavier in the boys school.” [v. 5, 2131]</p>
17	May	1786	Re	<p>“(Aelt. Conf.) Concerning the question as to whether or how the paper money could be refused, or whether it must be accepted, no answer can be given except that each man must be guided by circumstances.</p> <p>Br. Bagge asks that his daughter as well as his sons may have lessons on the clavier from Br. Freidrich Peter. The matter will be discussed with him.” [v. 5, 2138]</p>
22	Dec	1786	R	<p>“A letter from Br. Bagge...complaining about the rude behavior of Schober upon his request when he would be able to pay the L30: to the store was read. He gave nothing for an answer but bad words. We thought it necessary to talk to Schober....He was called, however, he answered that he was still in such a rage that it would be better not to call him today, because it would be useless...” (Auf. Col.-EH)</p>
27	Dec	1786	R	<p>“Since Schober is still in such a condition that we are asked to talk to him in the Collegium, Br. Praetzel and Stotz were asked to talk to him, because he has been too crude to Br. Bagge, so that he should excuse himself—either go there or write a note.” (Auf. Col. -EH)</p>
26	Jan	1787	P	<p>“Br. Bagge has decided to send his boys to Nazareth Hall [Pa.]. They will go with Br. Bibighaus who goes up to buy store goods for Br. Bagge.” (EC-S)</p>

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Wachovia, and Bagge complied by writing this most valuable Sketch.]” [[Excerpts have been included chronologically where appropriate.]]

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9/27/08

TIMELINE- POLITICAL, CHURCH GOVERNMENT
(Sample Pages)

9	Feb	1775	Re	“..It rained the entire day, but in spite of that many people were here [[Bethabara]], as in recent days; it looks as though the road to the Indian country lay through Bethabara! The tavern and the store attract attention,--if only the store had what the people want. ” [Bethabara Diary] [v.2, 901]
14	Feb	1775	Re	“ Br. Heckewalder also went to Court, having been summoned in connection with a case brought against John Dial... ” [v.2, 865]
16	Feb	1775	Re	“ Two things trouble us much. First there is the counterfeit money , gold, silver, and paper, and we were obliged to post a public announcement saying that we would so treat all false money as to make it useless for circulation. Since we have done this people have been more careful. The second trouble is theft , for negroes, horses and goods are being stolen, and we have recently lost a few articles in Salem.” [v. 2, 865-6]
20	Feb	1775	Re	“Br. Bonn suggests that the Brethren and Sisters should be careful about buying and drinking tea , so that they do not give occasion for criticism to travelers or visitors; announcement will be made to the members that the store will sell tea only until the 12th of March. ” [v. 2, 895]
13	Mar	1775	Re	“ Mr. Bailey , accompanied by a doctor, came to see Br. Bagge about the land on which Mr. Armstrong laid out Richmondtown. But his attorney, Mr. Buhler [Pooler] had some time ago arranged the matter with Armstrong, and for the lack of the Deed, which Mr. Bailey now had in hand, a new Deed had been secured from the Register’s office, so Br. Bagge could not enter into any negotiation with him until he could get back the duplicate Deed from Armstrong. ” (SD- v. 2, 868)
27	Mar	1775	Re	“The Brn. Bonn, Heckewalder and valentine Beck went to Bethabara, where the trial of John Dial for debt was to be held before the Justices, Robert Walker and Martin Armstrong. Bonn was to appear as plaintiff and the others as witnesses. It developed that John Dial was in prison in Hillsbury, for counterfeiting , and a Judgement of Prosecution was given against him, but it is probably useless.” [v. 2, 869]
15	Apr	1775	Re	“This Collegium consists at present of the following persons: Richard Utley, Congregation Vorsteher, Johann Ulrich Muschbach, Vorsteher of the Single

				<p>Brethren</p> <p>Jacob Meyer, Curator of the Single Sisters, Niels Petersen, a Single Brother, Christoph Merkly, a Single Brother, Johann Henrich Herbst, a Married brother, Traugott Bagge, Chairman.</p> <p>Day before yesterday Br. Marshall organized this Board, and installed the Curator of the Single Sisters, according to the Synod of 1769; today the Board met in its first session, Br. Marshall also being present...</p> <p>The branches to be conducted in Salem for the benefit of the Salem Diaconie, that is the Store, Tavern, Pottery, and tanyard, shall be indebted to the Salem Diaconie, and it in turn to the Administration Diaconie, for the value of their stock, according to the recent inventories, paying annual interest at 5%.</p> <p>The Store in Salem and the Store in Bethabara shall be one business. After all expenses of the business have been paid the profit from both Stores shall be divided, two-thirds to Salem Diaconie and one-third to Bethabara Diaconie."</p> <p>[v. 2, 693-4]</p>
19	Apr	1775	E	<p><i>"The first actual battles of the American Revolution are fought in Massachusetts at Lexington and Concord..." (p. 42)</i></p>
19	Apr	1775	P	<p>"A letter from Br. Bagge [states]...that, in the future, he has no time and does not feel anymore like being a member of the Collegium...In the letter he has included several bills in his favor: The Community Account which is owing to him a balance of L32: 5:5 and other things. He has asked a statement about that from the Collegium, and also on the whole of his annual account. Finally he also made a suggestion about Charles Holder. He said that he could not receive any more finished work from him. Therefore, he wanted to use him in his own house and give him some carpenter's work. He..." (Auf. Col.)</p>
27	Apr	1775	Re	<p>The Bagge Papers</p> <p>I. [[contd]]</p> <p><i>"A CIRCULAR LETER to the COMMITTEES in the several Districts and Parishes of SOUTH CAROLINA.</i></p> <p>CHARLESTOWN, APRIL 27, 1775.</p> <p>GENTLEMEN,</p> <hr/> <p>The General Committee thinking it of the highest Importance that the Committees in the interior Parts of the Colony, and that,</p>

				<p>through them, the People at large, should from Time to Time be informed of all such Affairs and Transactions as have any Relation to the American Causes; they have for the Management of so necessary a Service nominated a Committee of Intelligence....</p> <p>On the 9th of <i>February</i> the two Houses of Parliament addressed the King. In Substance, they declared to His Majesty that <i>America</i> was in a State of actual Rebellion; they desired the King, by all possible Means, to enforce the late Acts of Parliament against America; and they assured him that in such a Measure they would support him with their Lives and Fortunes. The King acquiesced, and some Days after desired from Parliament as Addition to his military Forces—it was granted without Hesitation. In consequence of these Measures, Reinforcements of Troops and Ships are ordered to <i>Boston</i>; where, when they shall be arrived, General Gage may have under his Command about 10,000 Men. <i>But what are 10,000 Men against the UNITED POWERS OF AMERICA!</i></p> <p>Amidst this Gloom, some rays of Light break in, and cheer us in this Extremity of Affairs. The City of London has declared in our Favour; in a few Hours, some of her Merchants subscribed 26,000 1. Sterling for the Relief of America and public Subscriptions for the same Purpose are industriously promoted. <i>London</i>, and other considerable Towns, have petitioned Parliament, and continue to exert themselves vigorously in our Behalf.</p> <p>...'A LINK OF THE GREAT CHAIN IS BROKEN'...</p> <p>...<i>Let us unite every Effort to preserve this Chain, and above all, let us with the utmost Circumspection guard THAT LINK entrusted to our Care; let us maintain it not only unbroken, but let us preserve it unsullied by the Breath of Treachery.</i></p> <p>...Thus, as these four Provinces [[Massachusetts bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island]] have by the <i>American Association</i> contracted not to export to <i>those Places</i>, THEIR EXPORTS ARE TOTALLY STOPPED. And the Act further says, <i>that into those Provinces shall NOT be imported any 'Sort of Wines, Sale, or any Goods or Commodities whatsoever</i> (except Horses, Victual, and Linen Cloth, the Produce and manufacture of <i>Ireland</i>, and Goods for the victualling of his Majesty's Ships, and for his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons, or the Produce of the <i>British Islands</i> in the <i>West Indies</i>) <i>on any Pretense whatsoever</i>, unless such Goods be shipped in <i>Great-Britain</i>, and carried directly from thence.' Thus, as those Provinces are bound by the Association</p>
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				<p><i>not to import FROM Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, it is evident that their IMPORTATION in the Way of Trade is TOTALLY PREVENTED. If the Blockade of Boston alone ROUSED the whole Continent to their Rescue and Support, HOW VIGOROUSLY ought we to exert ourselves, NOW that four entire Provinces are blockaded by an Act of Parliament, and CUT OFF FROM ALL MANNER OF TRADE!..”</i> [v. 2, 930-5]</p>
--	----	-----	Re	<p style="text-align: center;">The Bagge Papers “I. [[contd]] ASSOCIATION</p> <p>We the Subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of <i>Craven</i> and Town of <i>Newbern</i>, being deeply affected with the alarming State of the Province, and of all <i>America</i>, do resolve that we will pay all due Allegiance to his Majesty King GEORGE the Third, and endeavor to continue the Succession of his Crown in the illustrious House of <i>Hanover</i>, as by Law established, against the present or any future wicked Ministry or arbitrary Set of Men whatsoever. At the same Time we determine to assert our Rights as Men; and sensible that by late Acts of Parliament the most valuable Liberties and Privileges of America are invaded, and endeavored to be violated and destroyed, and that under <i>God</i>, the Preservation of them depends on a firm Union of the Inhabitants, and a steady spirited Observation of the Resolutions of the General Congress; being shocked at the cruel Scene now acting in the <i>Massachusetts Bay</i>, and determined never to become Slaves of any Power upon Earth, WE do hereby agree and associate, under all the Ties of Religion, Honour, and Regard for Posterity, that we will adopt, and endeavour to execute, the measure which the General Congress, now sitting in Philadelphia, may conclude on, for preserving our Constitution, and opposing the Execution of the several arbitrary and illegal Acts of the British Parliament; and that we will readily observe the Directions of our General Committee for the Purposes aforesaid, the Preservation of Peace and good Order, and Security of Individuals and private Property.” (v. 2, 936)</p>
2	May	1775	R	<p>“...A letter from Br. Bagge to Aufseher Coll. Was read in which he declares that he has neither time nor desire to remain longer in the Aufseher Coll. He gives no reason. As long as he does not explain himself further, we decided the best course was to give no answer to the letter. But Br. Wallis will speak to him [Bagge] about Chas. Holder, that he should keep him</p>

				<p>longer in his guardianship; at present he could use him for the most necessary carpenter work in the yard of the new store but he should employ him as much as possible in the saddlery.</p> <p>...Br. Heinzman referred again to his request to make a trip to Pennsylvania to secure materials for the trades of the Single Brethren's House. [[see Apr. 25]] The Aufseher Coll. Has approved this. However, we wanted the mind of our Chief Elder on this also, and asked in the Lot, Does the Saviour approve that Br. Heinzman at this time make a journey to Penna. In the interest of the Single Brethren's House? We received "Yes."" (EC-S) [Holder's saddlery was not in the store building, but on lot 50, where he lived. He was under Bagge's guardianship because of financial troubles.]</p>
3	May	1775	P	<p>"A letter from Br. Reuter...complains about Br. Bagge:</p> <p>1) That he, Br. Reuter, has noticed for several years that Br. Bagge, not in words, but in his deeds, is against the order of the community.</p> <p>2) Since Br. Reuter has decided to take the corner lot he naturally would also like to have the free street in order to come to the water. In spite of this, Br. Bagge has again had all the street ploughed this year.</p> <p>3) As often as Br. Reuter has measured off the lots for him, Br. Bagge has always put out the fence beyond the measured land, not because he wants more of it, but just because he does not like to have other people order him something.</p> <p>Since we have talked about this matter already last year and have made a protocol about it, we found it unnecessary to come to another resolution. He shall within 8 days fence in his garden and his lot so that the street will remain free.</p> <p>Br. Wallis has to talk with him anyway so that he will mention this matter to him also. And if he does not care to understand, the Collegium will know its duty and the obligation it took over for the benefit of the community." (Auf. Col.)</p>
8	May	1775	R	<p>"Br. Bagge finished moving from the old into the new store, and tonight he and his family slept there for the first time." (SD-F)</p>
10	May	1775	E	<p><i>"The Second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia." (p. 42)</i></p>
10	May	1775	R	<p>"Br. Wallis has talked to Br. Bagge concerning Br. Reuter's complaint about the street between his and Bagge's lot. However, since this matter has caused already so many quarrels among the Brethren, the Collegium did not make up another resolution than this: Since Br. Bagge has had the path ploughed</p>

				again this year and put seeds in it, he may have it for this year, but no longer. After that he shall have the obligation to fence all his lots in and the path shall remain a public way for everybody.” (AC-EH)
13	May	1775	R	<p>“Br. Bagge is at present in a very unhappy frame of mind and has relinquished his office in the Aufseher Coll. without any reason. He judges the smallest mistakes of others very harshly and constantly reminds us of trifles in which we are obligated to him. We will be patient with him in this situation also, but hereafter we must put the store business on a footing in agreement with congregation regulations.” (EC)</p>
26	May	1775	Re	<p>“In the presence of several witnesses Br. Bagge signed the paper stating that he conducts the business of the store at Salem and Bethabara, not as his own but as the property of the congregation.” [v.2, 873]</p>
31	May	1775	Re	<p style="text-align: center;">The Bagge Papers “I. [[contd]] PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE TOWN OF NEWBERN, AND COUNTY OF CRAVEN, MAY 31, 1775. [Printed in English.]</p> <p><i>CIRCULAR LETTER to the several COMMITTEES of this Province.</i> GENTLEMEN,</p> <p>We herewith transmit you a Copy of the Proceedings of our Committee, hoping they will meet with your Approbation, and that you will think it necessary, in these Times of general Danger, to adopt something of the like Nature for our common Safety and Defense. We think it necessary, upon this Occasion, to inform you, that Association Papers have been circulated through this County (supposed under the Direction of the Governor, as they are in the Hand-Writing of his Private Secretary) with a direct View to draw off the People from the Cause of Liberty, and to create in them Suspicions and Jealousies of all those who openly declare in Favour of Freedom. Some very few ignorant People in this County were by the Artifice of our Enemies drawn in to subscribe such Association; but we have the Pleasure to acquaint you that they have been since convinced of their Error, with indignation tore off their Names, and now look with Horror on the Trap that was laid for them. If any such papers have been circulated in your County, we doubt not they will, through your Vigilance, be easily and suddenly put a Stop to.</p> <p>We also transmit you a letter from Charlestown</p>

				<p>Committee, which was sent to the several Committees in that Province, for the better Information of the People at large; which explains and sets in a clear Light the real State and Nature of the present Disputes between Great Britain and America, in which this Province is involved as well as the rest. It is, we think, the Duty of the several Committees to inform the People of their danger. We remain most respectfully, Gentlemen,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Your obedient Servants, etc.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>In the COMMITTEE at NEWBERN, May 31, 1775.</i></p> <p>Whereas it appears by Letters from the Committees of Correspondence in <i>New York</i> and Philadelphia, and by the Public Papers, that all Exportations to <i>Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland</i>, or any part of the fishing Coasts or Islands, is suspended:</p> <p>Resolved, That the above Measure be recommended by the Committees to the Merchants and Inhabitants of this Town and County; and that from this Time no provisions, or any other Necessaries, be sent from this Port to the Army or Navy at <i>Boston</i>, unless otherwise directed by the Continental Congress... (v. 2, 927-928)</p>
12	Jun	1775	Re	<p style="text-align: center;">The Bagge Papers “II.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN CONGRESS Monday, June 12, 1775.</p> <p>As the GREAT Governor of the World, by his supreme and universal Providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purposes of His providencial Government; and it being, at all times, our indispensable duty, devoutly to acknowledge His superintending Providence, especially in times of impending danger, and public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable Justice, as well as to implore his merciful Interposition for our deliverance.</p> <p>THIS CONGRESS, therefore, considering the present critical, alarming mad calamitous state of these Colonies, do earnestly recommend, that THURSDAY, the <i>Twentieth</i> day of <i>July</i> next, be observed by the INHABITANTS of all the English Colonies on this Continent, as a day of public HUMILATION, FASTING, and PRAYER, that we may,</p>

				<p>with united hearts and voices, infeignedly confess and deplore our many sins, and offer up our joint supplications to the All-wise, Omnipotent and Merciful Disposer of all events, humbly beseeching Him, to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities, to avert those desolating judgments with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful Sovereign King GEORGE the III^d. And inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of all his subjects,--that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, without further effusion of blood,--and that the British nation may be influenced to regard the things that belong to her peace, before they are hid from her eyes,--that these Colonies may be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and may be prospered in all their interests,--that the divine Blessing may descend and rest upon all our civil Rulers, and upon the Representatives of the people in their several Assemblies and Conventions, that they may be directed to wise and effectual measures for preserving the Union and securing the just Rights and Privileges of the Colonies,--that virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land,--that America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded Rights, a reconciliation with the parent State, on terms constitutional and honourable to both,--and that her civil and religious Privileges may be secured to the latest posterity. And it is recommended to Christians of all Denominations to Assemble for public Worship, and to abstain from servile Labour and Recreations on said day.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>By Order of the Congress,</i> JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(A true Copy,)</i> CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.</p> <p>PHILADELPHIA: Printed by WILLIAM & THOMAS BRADFORD.” (v. 2; 937-8)</p>
16	Jun	1775	Re	<p>“Col Armstrong came from Cross Creek, and told us all sorts of things about the present unrest in the Colonies, the confusion constantly increases, Gov. Josiah Martin is said to have gone to Fort Johnston, in Wilmington they wanted to close the harbor but could secure no gun-powder.” (v. 2, 875)</p>
17	Jun	1775	E	<p>“<i>The Battle of Bunker Hill...</i>” (p. 42)</p>
19	Jun	1775	Re	<p style="text-align: center;">The Bagge Papers</p>

				<p style="text-align: center;">“III.</p> <p>To the COMMITTEES of the several Towns and Counties of the Province of NORTH CAROLINA, appointed for the purpose of carrying into execution the Resolves of the <i>Continental Congress</i>;</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Gentlemen,</i></p> <p>[The text of this circular can be found in the “Colonial Records of North Carolina,” and need not be reprinted here.]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">We are Gentlemen, Philadelphia, June 10, 1775 Your most obedient, and Very Humble Servants, WM. HOOPER [Autograph signatures.] JOSEPH HEWES R. CASWELL”</p> <p>(v. 2; 938)</p>
27	Jun	1775	Re	<p>“<i>[Graff to U. E. C. We had a quiet and blessed month, although around us the unrest constantly increases.</i></p> <p>In Mecklenberg County, where they have unseated all magistrates and put Select Men in their places, they are threatening to force people, and us in particular, to sign a Declaration stating whether we hold only with the King or with Boston, but we think that for the present these are only threats. If a higher authority should ask for such a Declaration of us, we think we will follow the form of the Declaration made by the Congress in Philadelphia concerning King George III, but say nothing whatever about the points at issue, which we do not understand. If a tax is laid on the people and we are expected to share in it, it will probably be better to bear what cannot be changed, than to refuse and so come into a much worse position. Such a course brought us fairly well through the recent Regulator confusion. We have been told that some of our Brethren in Bethlehem have become members of the Committee there; we know nothing about this except what we see in the newspapers.” (v. 2, 875)</p>
4	Jul	1775	R	<p>“A letter from Br. Traugott Bagge to this Conference was read. He declares that he wishes to come into the Aufseher Coll. again. He bases his wish on the fact that he was told to talk it over with the Saviour, which he has done. At the time the Brethren went over his accounts with him—he explained them and everything was found correct—Br. Graff told him that, before he could come to Communion again he would have to talk over with the Aufseher Coll. (Brn. Walther & Meinung being absent) his stepping out of it without explanation.</p>

				<p>place of this County which will take near or quite all the money I then can Command. If it suits I could furnish your Town with any Quantity of Beef at [illegible] hind Quarter & at 1 ½ d the Rest.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">I am Y^{rs} Jo. Williams.” [v. 2, 939]</p>
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9/27/08

APPENDIX F-MISCELLANEOUS

BUILDING RULES, JUNE 29, 1788

“The Congregation Council, the masters and housefathers revised the second part of the Building Regulations. We began with reading the last minutes and resolved that the following items be inserted into the Regulations:

...b)...It was also mentioned that bake ovens could be easily installed in basements of houses, however that arrangements for this will have to be made upon drafting the plan of a house.

...It was also mentioned that not without the force of necessity any sheds are to be built along the street. If it should become necessary, however, those sheds should have an orderly appearance.” (Cong. C.-EH)

...These are the Building Rules appended to the Minute Book of the Aufseher Collegium under the date of June 1788.

...We are not going to talk about the rules of the art of building on the whole, but only as it stands in connection with the order and way of our Community. Because it often happens that through unfitting way of building the neighbors are molested, sometimes even the whole community feels a disadvantage. For that reason in all well ordered countries rules have been set up. Therefore our brotherly equality and the faithfulness which we have expressed for each other in the Community orders necessitates that we agree to some rules and regulations which shall be basic to all constructions in the Community, so that nobody feels any kind of damage or loss because of the carelessness in construction of the neighbor and it is a special office of the Aufseher Collegium to take care of that...

On the other hand the brotherly equality makes it necessary that they [[masters in the building profession]] are going to be employed first of all and that no other people can be put in their place as masters, because through that many wrong styles of architecture may be introduced...

...we here in Salem use, for chimneys, bricks, in order to save place, whereas outsiders are mostly used to rough stones, on which one can put more weight without any danger at all....

...we expect with great hope that all the Brothers and Sisters, who have some intentions to build their house or make some repair are going to follow these rules. Therefore it is going to be fixed:

...2) He has to tell us about the lot on which he would like to build and he should turn in a plan how he thinks he is going to divide the house up, also of what material he is planning to build the house, if of blocks [bloecken], framework [bindewerk], stones or bricks, and how much he thinks it is going to cost.

In consideration of the whole picture of the Community, we have to see that the worst houses are not standing on the best lots. The same consideration has to be taken with all fire hazards, noisy, disease-or smell-spreading professions. Wood sheds or little huts do not belong to the main street, except, if they get a nice exterior...

The run of the water must not be changed through the construction of a new house in its original intention. The staircases in front of the house door and the cellars must not reach out too far and take away the room for the side walks along the houses...

3) No inhabitant may extend his construction over the lot that has been assigned to him onto the street, because not alone the road but also the sidewalks are there for the public use and no owner of a lot may do with it whatever he chooses, and if he wants to have more steps than just the one or two which everybody may have, this has to be investigated by the Aufseher Collegium. The ordinary space for the side walk will remain as settled 8 feet from the house to the post. Each owner of a house or lot has to take care of the side walk in front of his house as far as his terrain is going. The road is going to be kept in order with the efforts of the whole Community working together.

No trees may be planted into the side walks...

4) Regarding all the decency in the building regulations, we wish that no other but simple houses be built here in Salem, because costly houses will be hard to sell again for the approximate value. The division of the whole shall be orderly and shall not have any dark corners and uncomfortable steep staircases, and mainly no trap-doors shall be built in...

That no wooden chimneys are made here, we think is self-understood. However, for the fire proofness the following points have to be regarded, mainly:

a) That the chimneys have a good foundation...The chimneys have to be wide enough to be swept, which means ordinarily 14 to 18 inches, that under the fireplace of the chimney is a distance of 1 ½ foot—where big fires are made 2 feet—no planks are laid...that in front of all fire places and stoves, in kitchens and rooms and at every place where a fire is kept, enough spare room [hearth] is made with bricks; in rooms not under two feet wide, in kitchen and laundries wider according to proportion and we would like to have them laid out with stones and bricks all together.

b) No pipes of stoves may be too near the rafters or the stove too near to plank walls, and no such pipes may be lead through the floor in the upper story or through a wooden partition wall. Since the necessity may call for something like that some times, such things shall be announced to the Collegium at once, so that we can inspect the place and maybe help in some way.

c)...With baking ovens it is necessary that in front of those a coal hole should be, in which the coals that have been taken out can be put, without being strewn about or blown away by the wind...

...6) It also happens that through minor or rear buildings the yard is made smaller or almost practically unusable. Therefore it will be necessary that also for those buildings a plan is made so that not through constant adding of little buildings the possibility for a greater change is taken away. Necessaries and pig stalls shall be built with the best consideration and care, so that they do not molest the neighbor, for which it is necessary that a deep hole is made for the former, because the bad smell derives mainly from the fact, that often the sun can shine easily in those holes...

...9) In addition to the security from fire, it is also necessary to fix right from the beginning the drainage of the water and the rain in front of the house in the street, ...

10) Since experience has taught us that so many complaints and quarrels and damage can derive from the connection between the different lots, so that it often happens that one cannot enjoy one's own piece of land and work on it, it is determined that every lot is going to be fenced in all around. No little doors or openings shall remain for communication except with knowledge of the Community Government and with its permission. A house that is standing on the border of the lot, shall not have any windows that lead into the yard of the neighbor and that, on the whole, all steeples [gables ?] windows shall be well considered whether they are necessary or not, so that the mentioned molesting can be avoided. For the lower floor there are the least objections, because there are always the fences, and in kitchens and porches the upper part can be used as windows only anyway. However, we cannot fix for that a common rule, but things will have to be decided from one case to the next. The windows toward the street will find no objections at all. The people have to take care of peeping neighbors with the usual methods..." (OS-Green File, Drawer #4, Building Rules-1788)

TRAUGOTT BAGGE OBITUARY

April 17, 1800

“DIED.] On the 1st instrnt [sic.- instant?], after a very short illness, Traugott Bagge, Esq. of Salem, in the State of North Carolina,--Mr. Bagge was the general friend of mankind, and respected by all who knew him; and it is but justice to say, that in this dispensation of providence, society has lost, in him, one of her highest ornaments; but which, while it fills every heart with sorrow, must afford infinite satisfaction to his acquaintance, in the recollection of his examples through life; all which tended to promote industry, improve society, and make plain the paths of virtue, honesty and punctuality, and to secure the felicities of a future state.

The above is a just tribute to the character of Mr. Bagge, by a friend who knew him well.”

(*Gazette of the United States*. 4-17-1800. Volume XVII. Issue 2358. Page 3.
Philadelphia. Copyright- the American Antiquarian Society, 2004.) [See entry 6 Sep
1800]

LETTER FROM FORMER GOVERNOR MARTIN

“Copy of a Letter from the late Governor of North Carolina, Alic
Martin Esquire, to F. W. Marshall d. d. 4th May 1800.

I sincerely condole with you and all the United Brethren for the Death of Mr. Bagge. I consider the melancholy Event, not only affecting Your Society, but a public Loss to our Country, and can truly say I sensibly feel it—as he was long my Friend and with whom I was acquainted from my Youth.

I take the Liberty to enclose you a few elegiac Lines expressive of his Merit—they flowed from my Pen spontaneously, dictated by my Feelings and a sincere Respect for his Memory.
Perhaps they may be acceptable to you and his Friends.

Accept my best Wishes for Your Health and believe me with great Esteem and Respect

dear Sir
Your very humble Servant
Alex. Martin

To
The Memory of Traugott Bagge Esqr.
a distinguished Member of
The Society of the United Brethren
Who died
At Salem the 1st of April 1800.

What Stroke of Fate has Salem's Son befell
Their silent Griefs some sad Disaster tell
No common Loss their heaving Sighs deplore
Bagge alas the Friend of Man's no more
True to his Trusts who ever firmly stood
A bright Example! Honest-wise-and good-
From Suecia's* Realms in early Youth he came
Led by Religion's pure and sacred Flame
Lusatias's⁺ Brethren claim'd him as their own
Mong whom his Virtues long have brightly shone;
There not confin'd but to the World around
Defur'd to Man a gen'ral Good redound

Columbia's Sons his generous Worth detail
With sympathetic Tears his Fate bewail.

So gentle Spirit to those Realms above
Where Peace & Friendship reign with holy Love
Thy much lov'd Zinzendorff will joyfull rise
Thy Spangenberg, & greet thee to the Skies
Thy Watteville, & all th' united Choir
Will glow to meet thee with a sacred Fire:
With tenfold Talents gain'd, go meet the Lord!
Enjoy the Welcome Promise of his Word!!!

[*He was born in Gothenburg in Sweden. ⁺The United Brethren first formed their principal Seat at Herrnhuth in upper Lusatia in Saxony.]” (Moravian Archives, W-S)